

# THE CRIMES OF KHRUSHCHEV

## PART 2

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### CONSULTATIONS WITH

Dr. LEV E. DOBRIANSKY  
Mr. PETRO PAVLOVYCH  
Prof. Dr. IVAN M. MALININ  
Mr. NICHOLAS PRYCHODKO  
Mr. CONSTANTIN KONONENKO  
Mr. MYKOLA LEBED  
Dr. GREGORY KOSTIUK  
Prof. IVAN WOWCHUK  
Mr. JURIJ LAWRYNENKO

### COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

#### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION



SEPTEMBER 9-11, 1959  
(INCLUDING INDEX)

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

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UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1959

## COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

### UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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## PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

### PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

#### RULE X

##### SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

- \* \* \* \* \*
18. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

#### RULE XI

##### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

- \* \* \* \* \*
- (q)(1) Committee on Un-American Activities.  
(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### RULE XII

##### LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 86TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 7, January 7, 1959

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

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\* \* \* \* \*

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

If anyone believes that our smiles involve abandonment of the teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, he deceives himself poorly. Those who wait for that must wait until a shrimp learns to whistle.

(Nikita Khrushchev's comments during a reception for an East German Communist Party delegation in September 1955.)

## THE CRIMES OF KHRUSHCHEV

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### SYNOPSIS

First-hand accounts of the mass murder and terror perpetrated by Khrushchev, together with authenticated photographs of his victims, are revealed in the accompanying consultations with nine witnesses who appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Petro Pavlovych, former editor of a newspaper in a community in Ukraine known as Vinnitsa, described the atrocities committed there at the time Khrushchev was the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Ukraine.

In respect to the connection of Khrushchev with the massacres of Vinnitsa, Mr. Pavlovych stated:

All activity of the NKVD and other terror mechanisms were completely in Khrushchev's hands and, specifically, the purges and mass murders were by party order which he promulgated.

Dr. Ivan M. Malinin, who as a member of an official commission performed autopsies on the bodies found in mass graves in Vinnitsa, was asked whether certain photographs accurately portray the scenes when the bodies were discovered. He replied:

Yes; but these photographs cannot begin to portray the screams, the stench in the air, and the emotion which permeated the air as the relatives of these innocent victims went from body to body undertaking to identify their loved ones.

Dr. Malinin continued:

May I emphasize that the events that occurred at Vinnitsa stagger the imagination with their revolting inhumanity. The Vinnitsa massacres occurred only in one area at one time. But they were repeated ad nauseum throughout Ukraine during Khrushchev's regime.

Nicholas Prychodko, who observed firsthand the famine of the Ukraine in 1930-33, detailed the horrible scenes of starvation during Khrushchev's regime in that area caused by the seizure by the Communists of the crops.

His testimony continued as follows:

Mr. ARENS. In your own words, give us a description of that famine and tell us who was in charge of the perpetration of the famine?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. It is very difficult to describe in a few words the picture of that terrible famine during those years, but I would like to mention a few facts which I observed myself.

First, I observed covered wagons moving along the street on which I lived and also on other streets in Kiev. They were hauling corpses for disposal. \* \* \* These were peasants who flocked to the cities for some crust of bread. I saw thousands of those country men—men, women, and children—wandering along Kievan streets looking for some food. My personal friend, Dr. X—I cannot name him because he is behind the Iron Curtain—he was a surgeon at a hospital in Ukraine. He called me to show me something unusual. He put a white frock on me, just as he was in a white frock, and we went outside to a very large garage in the hospital area. He and I entered it. When he switched on the light, I saw maybe 2,000 to 3,000 corpses laid along the walls.

Mr. ARENS. What caused the death of these people?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. Starvation.

Mr. ARENS. Who caused the starvation?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. The starvation was due to the police and the brigades under orders from Moscow.

Mr. ARENS. What caused the famine?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. When the Germans came to Kiev, we found some statistics in hiding places in the cellar of the Academy of Sciences. They revealed that the food in 1932 was sufficient to feed all Ukrainians for 2 years and 4 months. But, except for about 10 percent, the crop was immediately dispatched from the threshing machines for export and parts outside of Ukraine. That was the cause of hunger.

Mr. ARENS. Why did the Communist regime seize the crops in Ukraine during this period?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. Because at all times there was some kind of discontent and various kinds of resistance to the Communist government in Ukraine and the collectivization drive of Moscow.

Mr. ARENS. What connection did Khrushchev have with this starvation, this man-made famine, in Ukraine?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. At that time Khrushchev became a very trusted man of Stalin.

Mr. ARENS. What did Khrushchev have to do with the man-made famine?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. As I said, at that time he became a very trusted man of Stalin and was in Ukraine then as one of the esteemed executors of Stalin's genocide of the Ukrainian population.

Mr. ARENS. How many people were starved to death by this man-made famine in Ukraine in the thirties?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. It is estimated to be 6 to 7 million, most of whom were peasants.

I have witnessed here today the photographs which these gentlemen have exhibited to the committee of the bodies of people who were massacred by Khrushchev's agents in the community of Vinnitsa.

I would not for a moment minimize the horror of this scene, but I would remind the committee that the inhumanities which I witnessed are even more terrifying because the



people who were massacred at Vinnitsa died at least—well, most of them—suddenly and by relatively quick methods. Their suffering can hardly be compared, terrible as it was, to the suffering of the millions upon millions who met their death in Ukraine by a deliberate process of slow starvation.

Mr. Prychodko also detailed the atrocities of Khrushchev committed in 1938 as follows:

In January of 1938, he was sent as a dictator of Ukraine and no tariff in human life could be made without an order of the secretary general of the Communist Party, who was Khrushchev.

At that time, I remember being in Kiev and Khrushchev arrived with a very big score of NKVD men from Moscow. They called a special meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. At that meeting they were surrounded by the people Khrushchev brought from Moscow and there was an interruption of that meeting at noontime. For example, the head of the Ukrainian People's Commissariat asked to go home; he shot his wife, himself, and tried to shoot his son.

There was a tremendous purge all over Ukraine which followed the arrival of Khrushchev.

Constantin Kononenko, substantiating the testimony respecting the mass starvation in Ukraine, testified:

Although Khrushchev may today properly assess against Stalin the basic decision that there was to be a mass starvation in Ukraine, Khrushchev cannot obliterate the historical fact that he was actually the perpetrator of the details of this man-made famine; that he, Khrushchev, was the one who carried out the basic policy of Stalin pursuant to which millions of human beings were deprived knowingly, premeditatedly, of the food which they themselves had raised. Khrushchev cannot disassociate himself from the blood and misery of this awful epoch in the history of Ukraine, in which he directly, actively, and knowingly participated as the chief engineer of the policy announced by his then chief, Stalin.

In 1930, Khrushchev was not yet then a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. By 1934, he became a full-fledged member of the Central Committee.

There is no doubt that in order to become a full-fledged member of the Central Committee, Khrushchev had to prove to Stalin that he was worthy of this promotion. This he did in executing the man-made famine policy in Ukraine.

Mykola Lebed testified respecting the mass deportation of the Ukrainian population conducted by Khrushchev beginning in 1944 as follows:

Mr. LEBED. After his return in 1944 to Ukraine, Khrushchev and his subordinates started the mass deportation of the Ukrainian population which previously was under German occupation. Especially the persecutions against the members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army were begun.

When he could not liquidate from the very beginning the Ukrainian liberation movement and the UPA, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the Ukrainian population at large was very severely persecuted and, on many occasions, parts of it were murdered.

I should like, specially, to illustrate the methods of terror which were applied at that time. To those members of the Ukrainian movement who were caught, as well as their families, the NKVD and NKGB applied the following measures of terror:

With hot irons they tortured those prisoners who were caught.

They cut into the skin and tore the skin off from the living body.

They also nailed people on the cross.

They cut off the sexual organs, and breasts of women.

They cut out eyes, broke bones in legs and arms and extracted nails.

Mr. ARENS. Specifically, in what areas were these atrocities committed, to your certain knowledge?

Mr. LEBED. In the districts of Tarnopil, Stanislaviv, Drohobych, Czernivci, Rivne, Zhytomir, and Kaminec-Podilsk.

These methods of terror were applied not only to prisoners in interrogation rooms and cells, but also in public places, forcing people to get together to witness these atrocities.

At the same time a degree of bacteriological warfare was started. They poisoned medical capsules with certain injections of typhus. In certain areas sicknesses or illnesses were spread, and in order to cope with them there was a need for certain medical supplies and help.

So they poisoned medical capsules or medicines which were supposed to be used to cure a patient. In that way, instead of curing him they inflicted certain other diseases which became very widely spread after the injections.

Also, water for public use was poisoned. Cigarettes and chocolates were tampered with in this manner. After consuming them, people became sick.

Mr. ARENS. What appeared to be the objective of the Communists in perpetrating these barbarities?

Mr. LEBED. These methods were applied in order to terrorize the population of Ukraine and depress its will to resist the regime.

Mr. ARENS. Who was directing the perpetration of these barbarities in Ukraine?

Mr. LEBED. Khrushchev was the man, since he was the "Gauleiter" at that time in Ukraine.

He was the first secretary of the Central Committee of Ukraine's Communist Party and the chairman of the council of ministers at that time.

This action was also directly led by Lieutenant General Riasnyv, at that time chief of the NKVD in Ukraine who was subordinate to Khrushchev.

After the conclusion of the war, Mr. Lebed stated, Khrushchev's reign of terror in the Ukraine was intensified.

Mr. Lebed detailed the tortures and murders perpetrated by Khrushchev after the conclusion of the war including his genocide of the Catholic Church.

Mr. Lebed submitted precise information on current slave labor camps operated by Khrushchev. In response to statements made by certain distinguished travelers to the Soviet Union that Khrushchev no longer operates slave labor camps, Mr. Lebed stated:

I would like to say the following: That when Khrushchev found out that the Western World knew of some concentration camps and their geographical location, he released the inhabitants of those camps that were known by the Western World, as, for example, in Vorkuta and Norylsk.

He changed the status of those prisoners from political prisoners to those who were forcibly resettled and restricted to the respective areas, not to be known directly as political prisoners.

At the same time he transferred some of the political prisoners to such places which until that time were not known to the West as concentration camps or forced labor camps.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have additional current information that there are political slave labor camps in the Soviet Union?

Mr. LEBED. Yes; I do.

Mr. ARENS. What is that additional information?

Mr. LEBED. The information consists of letters from families of those prisoners, political prisoners in concentration camps.

Dr. Gregory Kostiuik, who has been a student of the life of Khrushchev, testified respecting the alleged rehabilitation made by Khrushchev of former dignitaries of the party after his speech to the 20th congress of the Communist Party, as follows:

After his "secret" speech to the 20th congress of the Communist Party of U.S.S.R., in February 1956, Khrushchev started a rehabilitation of former dignitaries of the Communist Party, scientists and writers.

Among those whom he rehabilitated I would like to mention: Kossior, Chubar, Zatonskyi, and many other very important party officials and writers. Now, Khrushchev says that those people were persecuted without reason and this is why he is trying to rehabilitate them.

I would like to state, however, that Khrushchev was not only responsible but actually was a leader in the murder of those people whose names I just mentioned.

Ivan Wowchuk testified respecting another small, man-made famine in Ukraine conducted by Khrushchev in 1945-46, and the barbaric measures currently being enforced in Ukraine by Khrushchev. In response to the contention by Khrushchev that there is no political persecution in the Soviet Union at the present time, Professor Wowchuk testified:

Khrushchev says that today there is no political persecution in the Soviet Union. We know, however, that the so-called voluntary workers' brigades are used as tools in arresting people who are really deemed political prisoners, held ostensibly for criminal offenses.

In other words, Khrushchev's henchmen are using terminology applicable to criminal offenses in order to liquidate political opposition. This is just one facet of his masquerade in the U.S.S.R.

Mr. ARENS. Certain distinguished personages of the United States who have visited the Soviet Union have made statements to the effect that since Stalin's death and the 20th party congress, Khrushchev has become more humane. Do you have incidents which you can recount bearing on this subject?

Professor WOWCHUK. To answer your question, I would like to say that those distinguished American visitors who visit the Soviet Union do not go to all the places. They are not permitted to see many places which they probably would like to see.

As to Khrushchev, that he has changed to be a very humane person, I would like to repeat again that the two recent trials, in themselves, by which 10 human beings were executed, show that there is no fundamental change in his attitude or in his inhumanity.

Another illustration relates to how this so-called trend of liberalism was felt by the population. Prisoners of the Soviet concentration camps struck for better living conditions, and the result was that they were barbarously killed by Russian tanks. In one concentration camp at Kingir, 500 women were killed in 1954 by army tanks.

To this I would like to add that the industrialization of the Soviet Union continues to be essentially based on slave labor. The number of prisoners under Khrushchev's regime definitely did not measurably decline. The methods of arrest were changed. That is about all that was changed.

Jurij Lawrynenko detailed the political and cultural genocide which Khrushchev is presently perpetrating.

Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor of Soviet economics at Georgetown University, and national chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, summarized the crimes of Khrushchev as follows:

First, Mr. Khrushchev played a very significant role in the man-made famine in Ukraine in the period of 1930-33. On the basis of performances in that famine he was promoted in 1934 as a full-fledged member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Second, he was engaged in extensive purges in Ukraine actually to make way for himself to become eventually the first secretary of the Communist Party in Ukraine.

In these purges he directly engaged in the murder of people like Kossior and others. Countless others met death as a result of Khrushchev's perpetration of these extensive purges. Yet,

quite cynically, in 1956 at the 20th party congress he posthumously rehabilitated the very people whom he had directly or indirectly murdered. The purges continued during the period of the thirties to wipe out well over 400,000 Ukrainians.

Third, as the first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, he was involved in the heinous massacre of about 9,500 Ukrainians in Vinnitsa.

Fourth, during the war, as a security general in the NKVD, he exploited the Communist partisans primarily to provoke German occupying forces into augmenting their repressions and persecutions of the Ukrainian populace. Much of the populace was in favor, for a time, of German liberation. Seeing one alien totalitarianism supplanting another, they soon fought against both Berlin and Moscow.

Fifth, in 1944-46, Khrushchev was responsible for the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and continued the suppression of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalic Church. He has continued to keep both institutions in extinction—no posthumous rehabilitation on this score.

Sixth, during the war and after, when he was dispatched again by Stalin to take control and wipe out the "bourgeois" nationalist forces in Ukraine, Khrushchev was heavily engaged in the liquidation of many individuals and groups connected with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). He also inflicted damages, physical and personal, upon the populace which supported contingents of this army.

Seventh, in 1954-55, with his so-called virgin land policy, he precipitated a forcible resettlement of countless Ukrainian youth, male and female, to Kazakhstan. This, too, was really an act of genocide, a nation-destroying type of deportation under cover of economic resettlement.

Eighth, he was also, in 1954-55, responsible for the barbarous suppression of strikes on the part of Ukrainian political prisoners at Vorkuta, Mordovia, and Karaganda.

In Kingir, in 1954, he was responsible, by way of command, for the decimation of 500 Ukrainian women who protested conditions in that camp.

Mr. ARENS. These, of course, are not the only crimes attributable to Khrushchev?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Definitely not. We should not, of course, restrict the record of his barbarities solely to Ukraine. There, he rightly earned the title, "Hangman of Ukraine." But we all know, too, the "Butcher of Hungary," operating in Hungary at the time of the glorious Hungarian revolution of 1956.

Another matter we should not ignore or overlook was his dispatch of Soviet tanks to Tiflis to quell the uprising in Georgia in both March and May of 1956.

Americans should bear particularly in mind the fact that he had a hand in the Soviet attack against free Korea. And also we should—although even some of our leaders have apparently overlooked it—bear in mind that he certainly had a hand in connection with the murder of American airmen over Armenia.

There are, too, several hundred Americans who are still in Khrushchev's slave labor camps. Some of them have been released. But, actually, any close investigation of this and pressure along these lines would perhaps disclose that there are still quite a number of Americans in Soviet labor camps.

Considering these specific crimes and more, it is evident that the career of Khrushchev has been continuous for its criminality right down to the present day.

Dr. Dobriansky commented on Khrushchev's visit to the United States as follows:

The invitation that was extended to Khrushchev was in itself—I repeat, in itself—a cold-war victory for Moscow.

No matter how much we might rationalize as to why the invitation was extended, the fact remains that for a period of 2 years this was a primary goal of Moscow's cold-war efforts. And they did succeed.

The invitation consequently poses innumerable dangers. And it will depend entirely on how the American people behave toward Khrushchev as to whether these dangers will be grave or small.

The visit itself, in my judgment, cannot be actually justified. All the basic information with regard to the power and strength of the United States certainly has been at the disposal of Khrushchev right along.

Actually he will interpret this invitation as a sign of weakness on the part of the United States, pretty much as a deep fear on the part of our Government with regard to the possibilities of going into any war.

The effects may be innumerable:

One, it will certainly have some effect upon the population here in the United States. Many people who are unfamiliar with these facts that I have mentioned will certainly be impressed by his smiles, but as Shakespeare once said, there's daggers in men's smiles.

Unfortunately, many of our people will not be able to see these dangers. They will be impressed by the family that Khrushchev will bring here. Moscow propagandists know that the family is a very important institution in the eyes of the American people.

There will be smiles, there will be the family, there will also be many non-Russians as well as Russians in the entourage. He will have occasion to point to non-Russians, one, for example, the Don Cossack writer, Mikhail Sholokhov, and indicate that here is a non-Russian who certainly cannot be considered as a discontented captive in the Soviet Union.

I understand that Shevchenko is on the official party list and undoubtedly numerous others.

He, in other words, will put on quite a theatric performance in the United States, and he is very capable of that. The consequence of that will be a definite confusion of thought; and it will deepen, more so than Mikoyan and Kozlov were able to do, the division of thought that already exists in the United States with regard to the mortal threat of Communist imperialism.

A second very serious effect will, of course, take hold in the area of the captive world. Many a patriot, whether in Hungary or in Poland or in Ukraine or in Georgia or in northern Korea or in mainland China, will certainly see published accounts and photographs of Khrushchev here in the United States, being wined and dined at the White House and being accepted by many circles in the United States.

The unavoidable reaction will be one of sapped will. Their will to resist will certainly be undermined in that they will undoubtedly feel that the United States has begun to fear the power of Moscow and looks upon it with some sense of equality.

In addition they will surely feel that they cannot look to the United States for any help in any of their revolutionary activities. Many here have forgotten the way our own Nation was born.

Thirdly, another possible effect will be felt throughout the underdeveloped areas. There, too, the reaction—and the propaganda apparatus of Moscow which in my judgment is far superior to ours will make sure of this—the reaction will be one that the United States is inclining toward some sort of a deal with Moscow.

And let me make this final point, sir. When Khrushchev arrives on these shores, he will come not only as the head of the Government in Moscow but again, and even more importantly, as the head, the chief of the apparatus of subversion, infiltration, and cold war efforts that is stationed in Moscow—the international operation that is headquartered in Moscow.

It is all-important that the American people recognize the supreme fact that Khrushchev, as head of government on tour in the United States, is essentially and at the same time the director of this vast international Communist apparatus.

While he is here, in a real sense he is, at this time and through this apparatus, directing the infiltration and the subversion of independent countries such as Laos, to some extent India, and Iraq and Iran. The apparatus, indeed, continues to be directed at us, too.

In all these instances and more, there is no lapse of activity day by day with regard to the subversive and infiltrating activities waged by this apparatus.

This is again an old pattern. Following the Geneva conference, Moscow immediately launched its infiltration into the Middle East. Following this past Geneva conference and coincident with his visit here in the United States, in itself a tremendous triumph, situations are being built up in Laos, India, and elsewhere.





# THE CRIMES OF KHRUSHCHEV

## (Part 2)

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WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1959

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D.C.*

### CONSULTATIONS

The following consultations were held September 9, 1959, in room 226, Old House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, presiding.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, staff director, and George C. Williams, investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order and the first witness will be sworn.

Do you, Dr. Dobriansky, solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Arens.

### STATEMENT OF DR. LEV E. DOBRIANSKY, CHAIRMAN, UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. My name is Lev E. Dobriansky. I reside at 834 Kling Drive, Alexandria, Va. I am a professor in Soviet economics at Georgetown University.

I am also connected with the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, of which I am chairman. I might add that I was responsible for the Captive Nations Week resolution, which is now Public Law 86-90.

Mr. ARENS. Please give us if you will, Doctor, a word about your own personal background.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. I was born here in the United States, in New York City; attended the public schools of New York; received my Ph. D. at New York University and taught there. In 1948 I came to Georgetown University and since then have been engaged in both academic and civic activities.

I have been on the faculty of the National War College and connected with numerous other institutions and organizations.

Mr. ARENS. What is your connection with the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. I am the national chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

Mr. ARENS. Give us if you will, please, a word about this organization.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America is a national organization of Americans of Ukrainian background. The membership is made up of approximately 1,400 different civic, religious, social, and political organizations.

It speaks, I believe, in terms of approximately 2½ million Americans of Ukrainian background who see many of these international developments much as we do.

The organization is essentially an educational medium in that it is privileged to have the resources of many individuals who have actually witnessed the terrors and the development of communism in the Soviet Union.

Many of them had to flee as refugees or escapees. They have come to this country and now are respected citizens. Yet they have continued their studies along these lines and make such knowledge available to the organization.

It is our purpose as American citizens, and in the prime interest of the national security, to divulge, provide, and furnish this information so that we may not be hoodwinked by international communism.

Mr. ARENS. Dr. Dobriansky, what part did you or the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America play in promoting the Captive Nations Week resolution which was passed by the Congress some several weeks ago?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. It was my privilege to originate and author the original resolution of the Captive Nations Week. Actually, I started on it a year ago with Congressman Cretella in the House; and this year pursued it further, and successfully, on a bipartisan basis with Senator Douglas, of Illinois, and Senator Javits, of New York; and on the House side, Congressman Feighan, of Ohio, and Congressman Bentley, of Michigan.

The organization itself provided its facilities to make the resolution widely known. It communicated with similar organizations and many groups which do not necessarily have a working interest in eastern Europe and central Asia as we do, to gain their support behind the resolution. Fortunately the resolution came at a very opportune moment.

Mr. ARENS. As the author of the Captive Nations Week resolution, how do you size up the record of Khrushchev's crimes?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. The record of Khrushchev's crimes is really the basis for his whole political growth and ascension in the Soviet Union. As a matter of fact, it is the height of irony that we should be extending an invitation to a man who, on the basis of fact and truth, is really the greatest and most infamous genocidist alive today. The crimes of Khrushchev actually extend from the early thirties down to the present day.

Mr. ARENS. Do you possess basic evidence with respect to these crimes?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Yes. I myself, of course, had not witnessed these crimes. But on the basis of my socioeconomic studies and, of course, individual consultations with many witnesses who have been

in Vinnitsa, Ukraine, and elsewhere, these crimes stack up in a rather staggering way.

I should like very quickly to recount them in a methodical and systematic manner to show how the career of this person has been based on a pyramid of crimes. Indeed, it justifies this title, "Khrushchev, the Political Criminal."

First, Mr. Khrushchev played a very significant role in the man-made famine in Ukraine in the period of 1930-33. On the basis of performances in that famine he was promoted in 1934 as a full-fledged member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Second, he was engaged in extensive purges in Ukraine actually to make way for himself to become eventually the first secretary of the Communist Party in Ukraine.

In these purges he directly engaged in the murder of people like Kossior and others. Countless others met death as a result of Khrushchev's perpetration of these extensive purges. Yet, quite cynically, in 1956 at the 20th party congress he posthumously rehabilitated the very people whom he had directly or indirectly murdered. The purges continued during the period of the thirties to wipe out well over 400,000 Ukrainians.

Third, as the first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, he was involved in the heinous massacre of about 9,500 Ukrainians in Vinnitsa.

Fourth, during the war, as a security general in the NKVD, he exploited the Communist partisans primarily to provoke German occupying forces into augmenting their repressions and persecutions of the Ukrainian populace. Much of the populace was in favor, for a time, of German liberation. Seeing one alien totalitarianism supplanting another, they soon fought against both Berlin and Moscow.

Fifth, in 1944-46, Khrushchev was responsible for the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and continued the suppression of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalic Church. He has continued to keep both institutions in extinction—no posthumous rehabilitation on this score.

Sixth, during the war and after, when he was dispatched again by Stalin to take control and wipe out the "bourgeois" nationalist forces in Ukraine, Khrushchev was heavily engaged in the liquidation of many individuals and groups connected with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). He also inflicted damages, physical and personal, upon the populace which supported contingents of this army.

Seventh, in 1954-55, with his so-called virgin land policy, he precipitated a forcible resettlement of countless Ukrainian youth, male and female, to Kazakhstan. This, too, was really an act of genocide, a nation-destroying type of deportation under cover of economic resettlement.

Eighth, he was also, in 1954-55, responsible for the barbarous suppression of strikes on the part of Ukrainian political prisoners at Vorkuta, Mordovia, and Karaganda.

In Kingir, in 1954, he was responsible, by way of command, for the decimation of 500 Ukrainian women who protested conditions in that camp.

Mr. ARENS. These, of course, are not the only crimes attributable to Khrushchev?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Definitely not. We should not, of course, restrict the record of his barbarities solely to Ukraine. There, he rightly earned the title, "Hangman of Ukraine." But we all know, too, the "Butcher of Hungary," operating in Hungary at the time of the glorious Hungarian revolution of 1956.

Another matter we should not ignore or overlook was his dispatch of Soviet tanks to Tiflis to quell the uprising in Georgia in both March and May of 1956.

Americans should bear particularly in mind the fact that he had a hand in the Soviet attack against free Korea. And also we should—although even some of our leaders have apparently overlooked it—bear in mind that he certainly had a hand in connection with the murder of American airmen over Armenia.

There are, too, several hundred Americans who are still in Khrushchev's slave labor camps. Some of them have been released. But, actually, any close investigation of this and pressure along these lines would perhaps disclose that there are still quite a number of Americans in Soviet labor camps.

Considering these specific crimes and more, it is evident that the career of Khrushchev has been continuous for its criminality right down to the present day.

Mr. ARENS. How do you compare him with Stalin?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. His tactics in certain forms vary from those of Stalin. I think the best way to characterize the distinction is that his is a more or less silk-glove terrorism whereas Stalin's was a raw-knuckle terrorism.

Contrary to the observations made by many naive "Herriots," of our day, people like former Governor Harriman, Harrison Salisbury, and numerous others, there is definitely a terrorism abroad in the Soviet Union. There are still quite a number of slave labor camps.

Not only can one say that the long-range objectives of Khrushchev and the Kremlin have not changed from those of Stalin, but also that in substance the tyrannical rule has not changed. Some deceptive changes have occurred in the overt manner in which that rule is being exercised. But this creates an even more dangerous situation for us and the captives.

For example, on the matter of terrorism, the security forces may not at this time knock on doors at midnight and haul out occupants to put them into freight cars, destined for Siberia or any of the other familiar points of this slave labor camp system. However, there are other less conspicuous ways of doing the same thing.

Individuals could be deprived, arbitrarily deprived, of their means of sustenance, by being dismissed from jobs that would enable them to sustain themselves in lines of occupations that they had been familiar with and are qualified to continue with. Arbitrary decisions in courts against individuals who have been tagged as political prisoners serve as another example. There are many more of such techniques which are unobservable to the American traveler in the U.S.S.R.

These are silk-glove methods which are hidden from the sight of many American visitors to the Soviet Union, but in substance Khrushchev is able to achieve the same ends that Stalin, through coarser methods, had achieved.

Mr. ARENS. How do you view the statements made by some Americans that the slave labor system is extinct?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. They are false. I have no doubt that there are still countless slave labor camps throughout the Soviet Union. It has been pointed out time and time again that many of these camps have simply been transferred to points which are not familiar to Americans and are under the shield possibly of signs indicating military restricted areas.

Secondly, individuals who were formerly in camps like Vorkuta have been released from the camp as such, but their mobility and their movements are restricted to certain provinces. They continue substantially as slave laborers.

Clearly, the masquerade that Khrushchev is so well known for in the foreign field also applies within the Soviet Union.

There is this final and most important point, namely, that Khrushchev, after having ascended to power on the steps of all these crimes, is the head of an apparatus the tentacles of which extend to all corners of the earth and inevitably affect millions of individuals, including us.

Agents, subverters, informers, infiltrators are connected with this vast apparatus. The apparatus is only a means by which he hopes eventually to isolate and to undermine the United States; actually to destroy it as a free nation.

Mr. ARENS. Dr. Dobriansky, based upon your background and experience would you kindly express yourself as to your judgment of the effect of Khrushchev's visit to the United States?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. The invitation that was extended to Khrushchev was in itself—I repeat, in itself—a cold-war victory for Moscow.

No matter how much we might rationalize as to why the invitation was extended, the fact remains that for a period of 2 years this was a primary goal of Moscow's cold war efforts. And they did succeed.

The invitation consequently poses innumerable dangers. And it will depend entirely on how the American people behave toward Khrushchev as to whether these dangers will be grave or small.

The visit itself, in my judgment, cannot be actually justified. All the basic information with regard to the power and strength of the United States certainly has been at the disposal of Khrushchev right along.

Actually he will interpret this invitation as a sign of weakness on the part of the United States, pretty much as a deep fear on the part of our Government with regard to the possibilities of going into any war.

The effects may be innumerable:

One, it will certainly have some effect upon the population here in the United States. Many people who are unfamiliar with these facts that I have mentioned will certainly be impressed by his smiles, but as Shakespeare once said, there's daggers in men's smiles.

Unfortunately, many of our people will not be able to see these dangers. They will be impressed by the family that Khrushchev will bring here. Moscow propagandists know that the family is a very important institution in the eyes of the American people.

There will be smiles, there will be the family, there will also be many non-Russians as well as Russians in the entourage. He will have occasion to point to non-Russians, one, for example, the Don Cossack writer, Mikhail Sholokhov, and indicate that here is a non-Russian

who certainly cannot be considered as a discontented captive in the Soviet Union.

I understand that Shevchenko is on the official party list and undoubtedly numerous others.

He, in other words, will put on quite a theatric performance in the United States, and he is very capable of that. The consequence of that will be a definite confusion of thought; and it will deepen, more so than Mikoyan and Kozlov were able to do, the division of thought that already exists in the United States with regard to the mortal threat of Communist imperialism.

A second very serious effect will, of course, take hold in the area of the captive world. Many a patriot, whether in Hungary or in Poland or in Ukraine or in Georgia or in Northern Korea or in mainland China, will certainly see published accounts and photographs of Khrushchev here in the United States, being wine and dined at the White House and being accepted by many circles in the United States.

The unavoidable reaction will be one of sapped will. Their will to resist will certainly be undermined in that they will undoubtedly feel that the United States has begun to fear the power of Moscow and looks upon it with some sense of equality.

In addition, they will surely feel that they cannot look to the United States for any help in any of their revolutionary activities. Many here have forgotten the way our own Nation was born.

Thirdly, another possible effect will be felt throughout the underdeveloped areas. There, too, the reaction—and the propaganda apparatus of Moscow which in my judgment is far superior to ours will make sure of this—the reaction will be one that the United States is inclining toward some sort of a deal with Moscow.

Mr. ARENS. If Khrushchev assures the President of the United States of his "peaceful intentions," would that not be a good thing?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. On the contrary. Khrushchev, as indeed Stalin, Lenin, and you can go all the way back in connection with their predecessors in the empire, have always professed peaceful intentions to suit their aggressive designs.

In this case I think we would be grossly naive to believe that what Khrushchev says can be taken at face value. I think if one looks, for example, into the agreements, all the treaties that have been broken by Moscow since 1917-18, mathematically it approximates somewhere about one per week over these years.

Mr. ARENS. What if Khrushchev in general agrees to peaceful solutions of certain problem areas of the world? Would that not be a good thing?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. The only peaceful solutions that he would agree to are solutions which would not necessitate any concessions on his part.

Mr. ARENS. What if he agrees to some concessions?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. If he does agree to some concessions, there is no question that these concessions, on the basis of a relative weighing of the factors, will be of minor significance to the cold war objectives of the Soviet Union.

Mr. ARENS. What if the President of the United States is able to convince Khrushchev of our peaceful intentions? Would that be a good thing?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. I cannot see that this occasion could in any way amplify the profession of peaceful intentions on the part of our President or anyone else in our Government that has been made over these years and during these months.

In other words, despite the fact that we may endlessly profess peaceful intentions, this would in no way dissuade Khrushchev from the blueprints that he is following and the course of action that he will take.

I should like to make this vital point: that this visit in itself, from Moscow's viewpoint, is an instrument, a weapon, of the cold war. It is a means to actually advance the cold war interests of Moscow.

And let me make this final point, sir. When Khrushchev arrives on these shores, he will come not only as the head of the Government in Moscow but again, and even more importantly, as the head, the chief, of the apparatus of subversion, infiltration, and cold war efforts that is stationed in Moscow—the international operation that is headquartered in Moscow.

It is all-important that the American people recognize the supreme fact that Khrushchev, as head of government on tour in the United States, is essentially and at the same time the director of this vast international Communist apparatus.

While he is here, in a real sense he is, at this time and through this apparatus, directing the infiltration and the subversion of independent countries such as Laos, to some extent India, and Iraq and Iran. The apparatus, indeed, continues to be directed at us, too.

In all these instances and more, there is no lapse of activity day by day with regard to the subversive and infiltrating activities waged by this apparatus.

This is again an old pattern. Following the Geneva conference, Moscow immediately launched its infiltration into the Middle East. Following the 1959 Geneva conference and coincident with his visit here in the United States, in itself a tremendous triumph, situations are being built up in Laos, India, and elsewhere.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Dr. Dobriansky.

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The CHAIRMAN. Do you, Mr. Pavlovych, solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. I do.

#### STATEMENT OF PETRO PAVLOVYCH (NOM DE PLUME)

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. My full and real name is Apollon Trembow. My address is Post Office Box 52, Orrtanna, Pa. I am a former high school teacher and journalist; and now I am a registered practical nurse at the Samuel Dixon State Hospital in South Mountain, Pa. I am an editorial author of the two volumes, titled "The Black Deeds of the Kremlin, A White Book" (Toronto, 1953).

Mr. ARENS. You are presently a citizen of the United States?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. I have been a citizen of the United States since June 1956.



Mr. ARENS. Mr. Pavlovych, have you ever been a resident of a community in Ukraine known as Vinnitsa?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes, from 1933 to the start of the second war, I was in Vinnitsa.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment when you were a resident of Vinnitsa?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. From 1933 until the war started, I was a high school teacher.

Mr. ARENS. Then after the war started in what occupation did you engage?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. From 1942 to 1943 I worked as an editor of a Vinnitsa newspaper.

Mr. ARENS. Were you present as a resident in Vinnitsa in Ukraine when there occurred the massacre of a number of the citizenry of that area?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes. On May 24, 1943, we of the Ukrainian Commission To Investigate the Vinnitsa Killings went to Pidlisna Street No. 1. We discovered mass graves and we looked for bodies. We knew very well some areas in Vinnitsa where there were mass graves. Many witnesses told us about graves in three places.

By permission, I repeat again, by permission, not by proposition as German officials held, we went into these areas and looked for the graves. Dr. Doroshenko, Professor-Dr. Malinin, Dr. Klunk, Professor Savostianov, Editor Trembowezky, Bishop Evlohij, Bishop Hryhorij, Mr. Mamontoff, Mr. Sibirsky, Mr. Midrest, and myself opened the first graves.

Mr. ARENS. In 1937, were you living in Vinnitsa?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us from your own experience and observations if there were any unusual occurrences which took place at that time?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. About the summer of 1937 and the spring of 1938, the NKVD arrested many citizens in Vinnitsa. Many of the people who worked together—as in my school, the school director—were arrested. My father-in-law and many, many other people were arrested without reason.

The Communists sent in the NKVD who arrested thousands and thousands of people. My mother-in-law and wife sent many letters to the government and asked why her husband and father were arrested. The answer they got was the usual coverup: "He has been arrested because he is a people's enemy—enemy of the people."

In 1938, the last petition went to the Central Committee, to Nikita Khrushchev. My mother-in-law remembered this very well. The answer she received: "By order of Nikita Khrushchev, we answer to you," and the answer was the same.

At the time, the people did not understand what was going on. They did not understand why so many were arrested, especially Ukrainians, those of Polish descent—half Polish, half Ukrainian—and many Jewish people who were arrested in our town as well as in other towns within the Vinnitsa Province.

On May 24, 1943, we discovered in concrete what happened in our town. People were sent to Siberia and many of them in our town were murdered.



Mr. ARENS. What were the reasons for this mass terror and murder by Stalin and Khrushchev in 1937 and 1938?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Only an analysis of political events in Ukraine can enable us to understand why Stalin and Khrushchev killed so many people in 1937-38.

In the period of January 25-31, 1937, the 14th Soviet conference was held in Ukraine and the new Stalin constitution was applied to Ukraine. From May 27 to June 3, 1937, the 13th party conference took place in Ukraine. In 1938, from June 13 to 18, the 14th party conference of Ukraine was held, at which time Khrushchev became the first secretary. On June 26, 1938, followed his election to the supreme Soviet government in Ukraine. By October 22, 1939, Khrushchev took over the western section of Ukraine.

If you analyze these points you find it easy to answer your question. Stalin sent Khrushchev to clean up Ukraine of its anti-Soviet and patriotic, nationalist elements and also of elements that would be against Khrushchev's party power in Ukraine.

Between 1937 and 1938 this happened in all of Russian-occupied Ukraine. In September 1939 and August 1940, the Red army went into the rest of Ukraine, then under Poland and Rumania, respectively.

Mr. ARENS. After these kidnappings and murders which you have just described in your community, which took place under Khrushchev's administration in 1937 and 1938, when was the fact of these kidnappings and murders made known to the free world?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. In 1943, when the German army occupied Ukraine. They occupied it originally in 1941. It had been in the hands of the Russians up to that time. In 1943 there were no Russian armies in Ukraine. The graves were discovered in 1943. Many people who knew something about these graves were afraid to tell because they were afraid that the Russians might come back and finish them off.

Mr. ARENS. What happened then to reveal and make known the extent of the massacres under Khrushchev's regime?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. The disclosures were made by Ukrainian administration and initiative. The German Government gave its permission. This happened on May 24, 1943, in the orchards on Pidlisna Street No. 1. The Ukrainian commission worked all the time alongside the German commission.

Mr. ARENS. How many graves were discovered?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. During the period from May 24 to October 7, we discovered on Pidlisna Street, 39 graves. One was empty; 5,644 bodies were in them.

Then, in the Orthodox Cemetery, 42 graves, 2,405 bodies; and in the Park of Culture and Recreation—we call it Gorky Park—14 graves, 1,390 bodies.

Mr. ARENS. How many bodies were discovered in all?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. 9,439.

Mr. ARENS. In how many mass graves?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Ninety-five graves altogether.

Mr. ARENS. Were photographs taken of the bodies and of the graves?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you now have with you photographs taken at Vinnitsa of the bodies of some of the persons who were massacred under Khrushchev's regime in that area?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Here is a photograph taken by a Ukrainian correspondent, Janus-bewich, in June 1943 at Vinnitsa. (See p. 21.)

Mr. ARENS. Were you present when that photograph was taken?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes. I was not only there, but I am in the photograph. I am the third person from the right.

These are the bodies from just one grave.

Mr. ARENS. Who are the persons standing there with you in the photograph?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. These are mostly peasant women who came from surrounding villages to identify the bodies.

Here is another photograph. I personally took this photograph. (See p. 22.)

Mr. ARENS. Will you describe now what is in the photograph and where it was taken?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. It shows the bodies of victims from another mass grave in the city.

Here is another photograph which depicts a view of one of the mass graves which I observed at the time. (See p. 23.)

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Here are three more photographs typical of the horrible scenes which I observed at the time. (See pp. 24-26.)

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. May I point out that in these photographs, the bodies are being surveyed by workers and relatives who are trying to identify their loved ones.

As you will see, I have with me today a number of other photographs, some of which are so horrible as to defy adequate description, but I believe you will agree I have given you here a sufficient glimpse into the brutal reality of the massacres which I beheld with my own eyes, and which I shall never forget. (See pp. 27-29.)

Mr. ARENS. How many of these 9,439 bodies were identifiable and identified?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. 676.

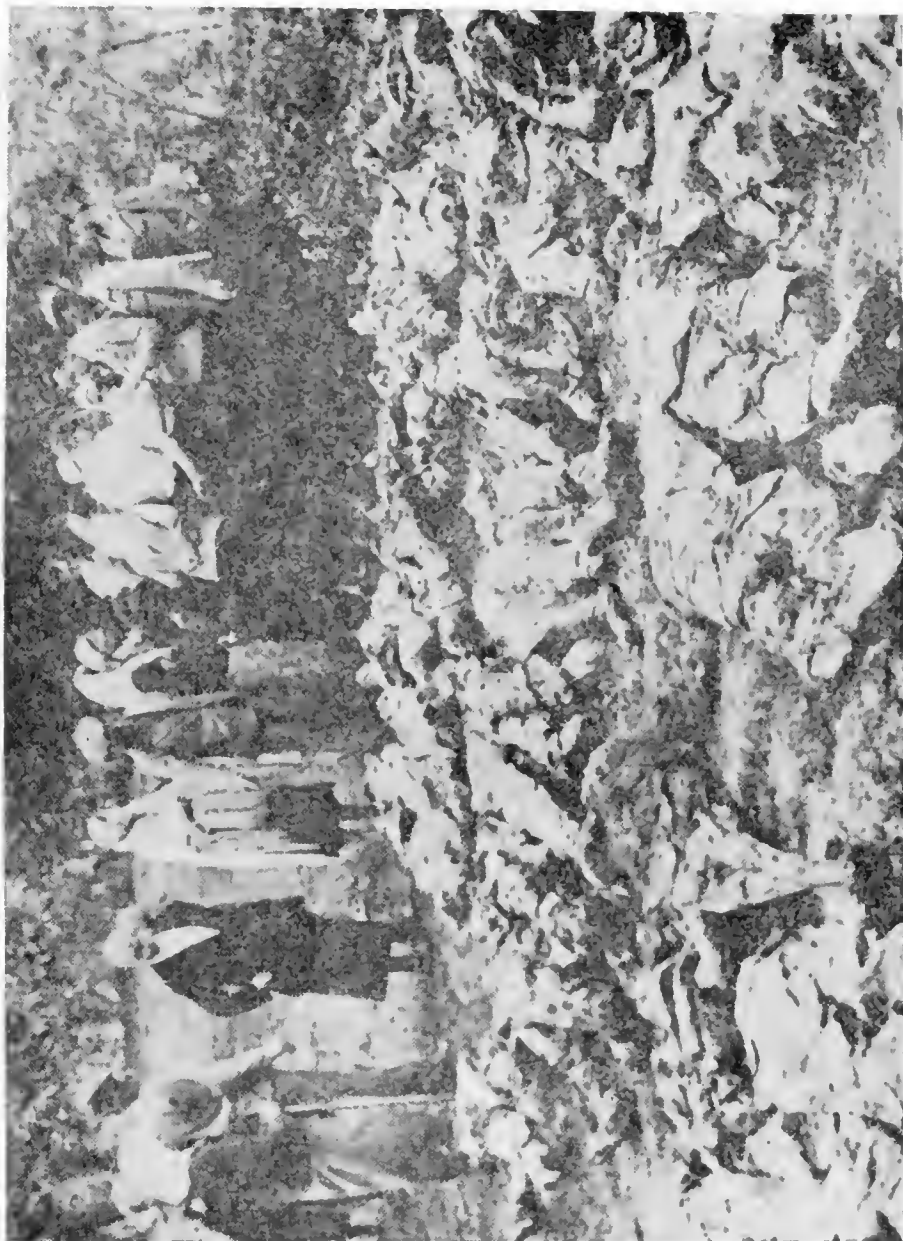
Mr. ARENS. Give us in just a word please, sir, the classification or type of identification which was developed.

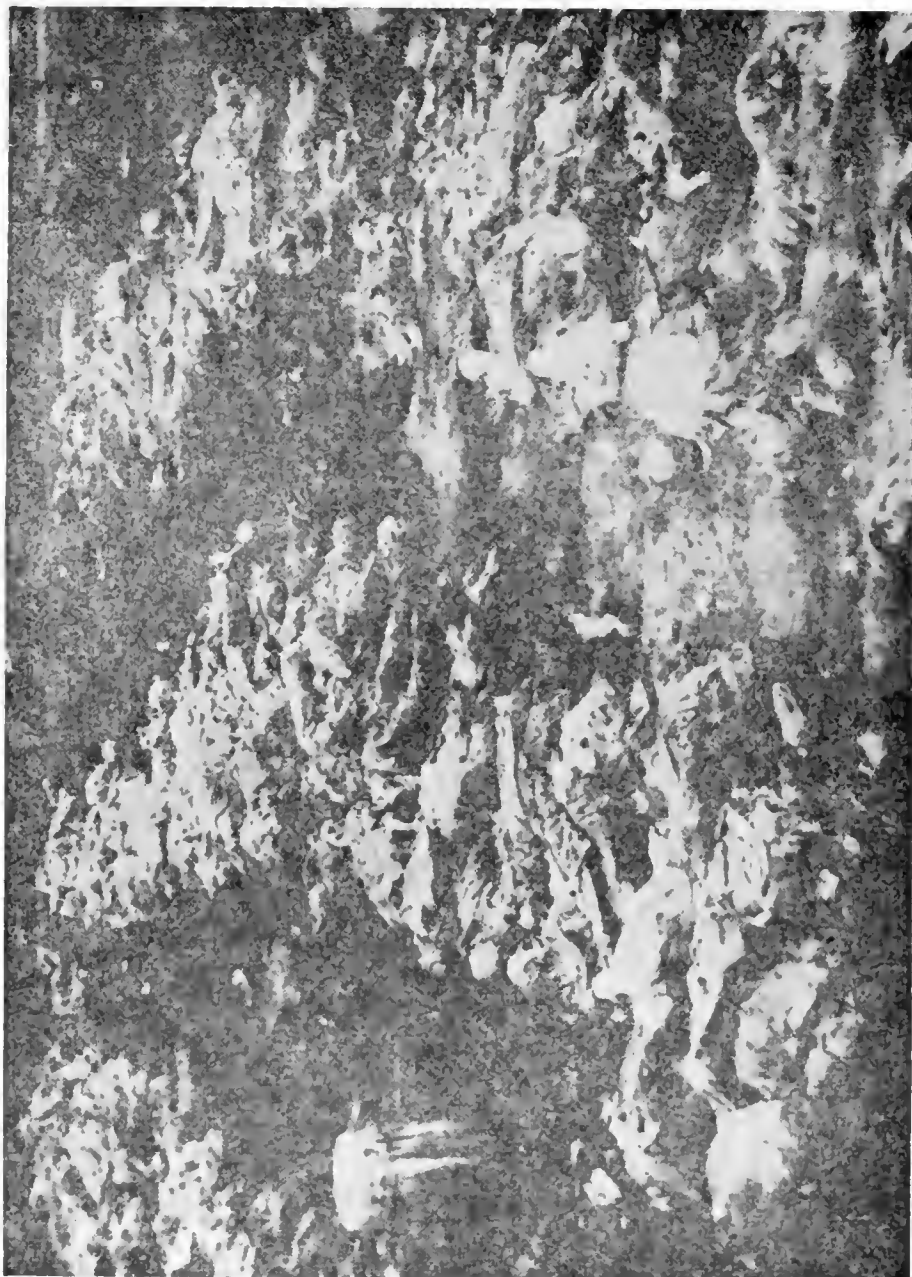
Mr. PAVLOVYCH. From these 676 bodies, we were able to classify most of them as follows: Peasants, including collective farm workers, 338; nonfarm workers, 112; clerks, 98; specialists and professionalists, 36; preachers, 4; military men, 16. The others we do not know about.

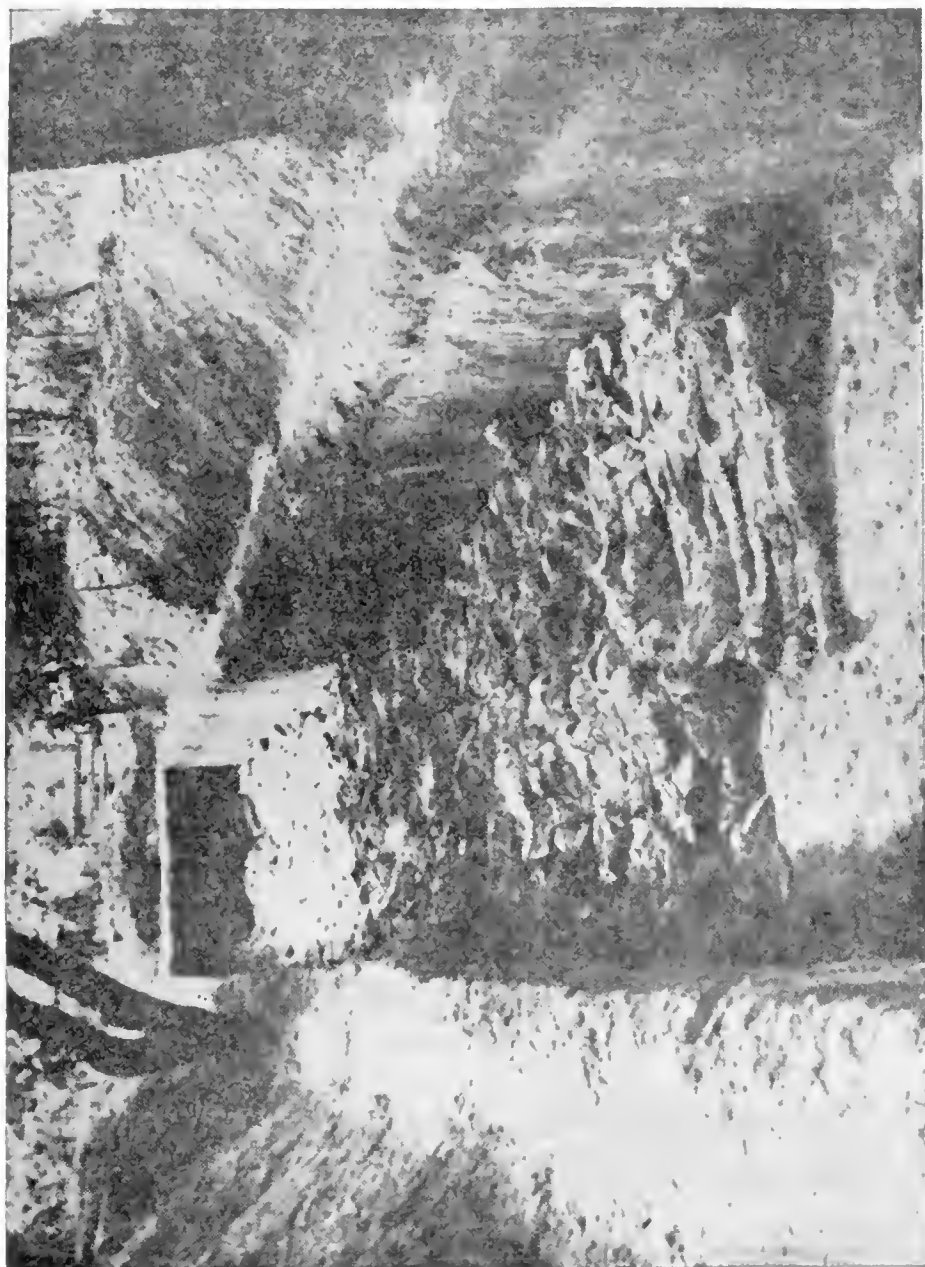
Mr. ARENS. Of these bodies, 169 were women?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes. But we were able to identify only 20 of these women. Five women whom we identified were killed at the same time with their husbands. I have their names. They were killed at the same time their husbands were killed.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Pavlovych, you have described here with great emotion, may I say, the atrocities committed in the community in which you lived, Vinnitsa. Now I ask you, what connection did Khrushchev have with the perpetration of these atrocities?







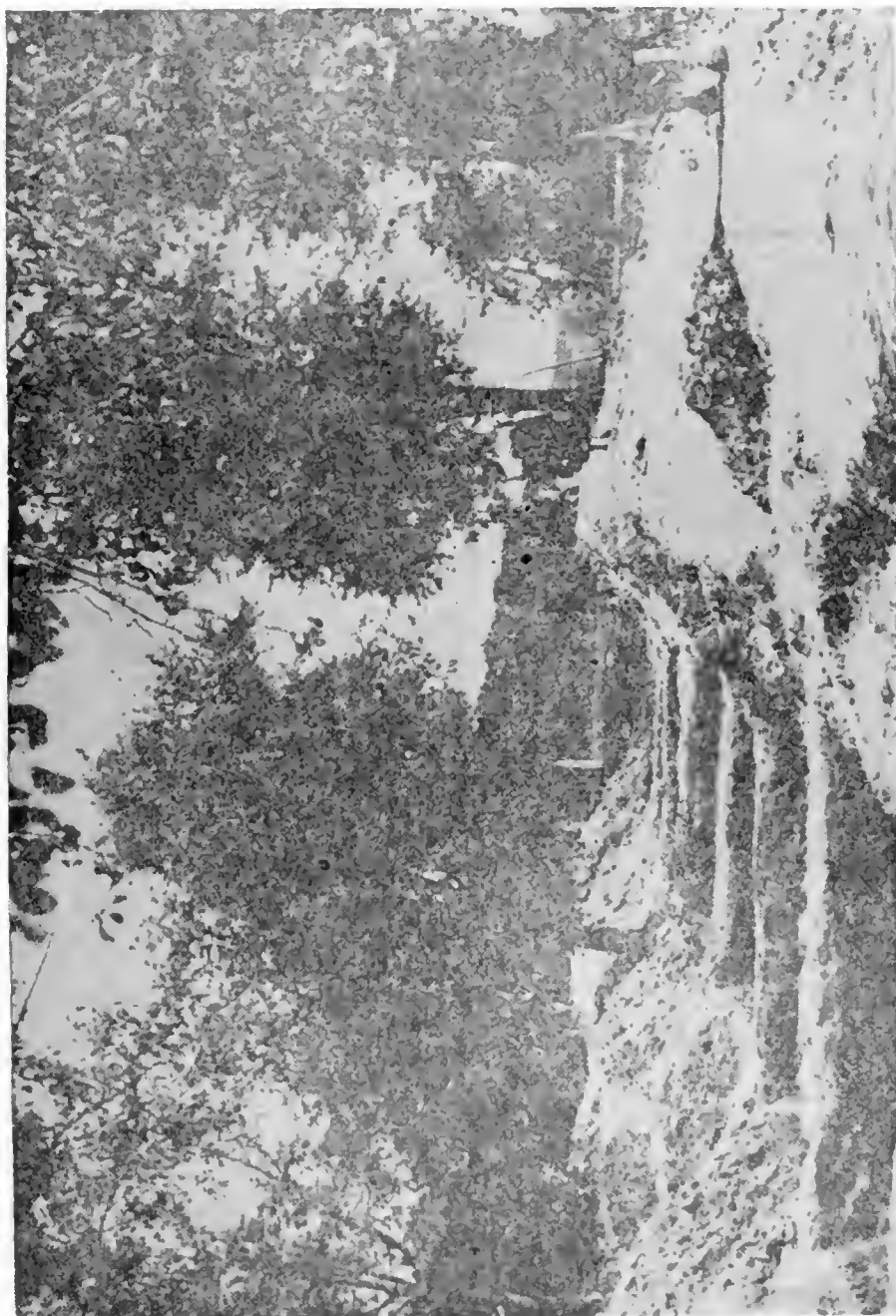
















Mr. PAVLOVYCH. The connection of Khrushchev with the massacres at this time not only in my community of Vinnitsa, but in many other areas of Ukraine, was simply this: that Khrushchev was at the time the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Ukraine, which was the seat of all political power in that area. All activity of the NKVD and other terror mechanisms were completely in Khrushchev's hands and, specifically, the purges and mass murders were by party order which he promulgated.

Mr. ARENS. Why?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Because these poor souls were suspected by Khrushchev's terror organizations of being unreliable elements. They were deemed unreliable by Khrushchev's terror organizations because they loved their Ukrainian land and had burning in their hearts a spirit of nationalism; because they evidenced resistance to the collectivization whereby their farms had been taken from them; because they had evidenced other human characteristics of freedom-aspiring people.

Mr. ARENS. How did the Khrushchev regime in Ukraine attempt to maintain secrecy in regard to its terrorism?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. The Vinnitsa tragedy is a good example of attempted secrecy. Mass graves were found in an old, unkept cemetery.

Graves were also found in the Park of Rest and Culture, which was built over the remains of an old Roman Catholic cemetery.

My third point is that graves were found in zones that were declared off limits under the pretext of military significance.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Pavlovych.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Malinin, do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. MALININ. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF PROF. DR. IVAN M. MALININ

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Dr. MALININ. I am Prof. Dr. Ivan M. Malinin. My present residence is in Beckley, W. Va., where I am employed as a pathologist at Beckley Hospital.

Mr. ARENS. Dr. Malinin, are you a citizen of the United States?

Dr. MALININ. Yes; I am a citizen of the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever lived in a community in Ukraine known as Vinnitsa?

Dr. MALININ. I arrived in Vinnitsa in early 1943 and left the city in October of 1943.

Mr. ARENS. What occasioned your visit to Vinnitsa in 1943?

Dr. MALININ. I went to Vinnitsa after having been arrested by the NKVD in June of 1942. I was accused in a criminal court but succeeded in escaping imprisonment. I escaped to Vinnitsa.

Mr. ARENS. What was the nature of the offense charged against you by the NKVD?

Dr. MALININ. The accusation was counter-revolutionary activity for the purpose of the overthrow of the Soviet regime.

Mr. ARENS. Did you in fact participate in any such activities?

Dr. MALININ. No.

Mr. ARENS. In 1943, did you participate in a medical commission which was charged with the responsibility of examining bodies which had been discovered in mass graves in the Vinnitsa community?

Dr. MALININ. Yes. When I arrived in Vinnitsa in 1943, the city was full of rumors of the possibility of various graves located around the city. When I was introduced to Professor Savostianov, who was mayor of the city, I personally insisted that an excavation take place, and, after a term of negotiation, permission was received from the German authorities to excavate. Unofficially, prior to my official commission, I personally performed autopsies on 228 bodies.

Mr. ARENS. Where were the mass graves located?

Dr. MALININ. There were three locations of the mass graves.

The first was in the immediate proximity of the NKVD Building in the so-called Park of Rest and Culture. The second was at the edge of the city cemetery. And the third was in the special rest garden which belonged to the NKVD and was located outside the city. This last place was equipped with a shooting gallery for practice shooting by local members of the NKVD.

Mr. ARENS. How many bodies were exhumed from these mass graves?

Dr. MALININ. There were 9,439. This number included 169 women. These bodies were packed in the graves in mass layers.

Mr. ARENS. On how many bodies did you perform autopsies?

Dr. MALININ. Prior to the arrival of the German commission, I performed autopsies on 228 bodies. Since the arrival of the German commission and also the international commission, I continuously performed autopsies. I do not have the precise number but it is approximately 1,000.

Mr. ARENS. Did the autopsies show the approximate time of the execution?

Dr. MALININ. The bodies, according to medical examination, varied in the length of burial from 3 to 5 years, since the lowest layers of the bodies were much more decomposed and obviously the upper layers had been placed there after the lower bodies were buried.

Mr. ARENS. Did this indicate that some of the bodies were massacred during the time that Khrushchev was secretary of the Communist Party in Ukraine?

Dr. MALININ. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Was the manner in which the person was executed revealed in the autopsy?

Dr. MALININ. The autopsies indicated that the methods used for execution were the standard methods used by the NKVD, a small caliber pistol discharged into the area of the medulla.

Mr. ARENS. Did your autopsy reveal any evidence that some of the victims had been buried alive?

Dr. MALININ. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. What was the nature of the evidence which caused you to reach that conclusion?

Dr. MALININ. There was dirt detected in the organs.

Mr. ARENS. I show you additional photographs which were provided earlier this afternoon by another witness as well as photographs taken at the scene of the atrocities. I ask you whether these photographs truly, honestly, and accurately portray the scenes at Vinnitsa when the bodies were discovered. (See pp. 33-34.)

Dr. MALININ. Yes; but these photographs cannot begin to portray the screams, the stench in the air, and the emotion which permeated the air as the relatives of these innocent victims went from body to body undertaking to identify their loved ones.

Mr. ARENS. What nationalities, Doctor, were represented in the corpses on which you performed autopsies?

Dr. MALININ. The majority of those executed, according to found documents, were the local population of Ukrainia, but there were also Russians, Poles, and even some Jews.

Mr. ARENS. Doctor, could these atrocities in the community of Vinnitsa and, as I understand, elsewhere in Ukraine, have been committed while Khrushchev was first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine without his knowledge and direction?

Dr. MALININ. All these mass murders were known to any first secretary of any large administrative unit and he participated or, at least, tacitly approved without exception.

Mr. ARENS. Is there anything else, Doctor?

Dr. MALININ. May I emphasize that the events that occurred at Vinnitsa stagger the imagination with their revolting inhumanity. The Vinnitsa massacres occurred only in one area at one time. But they were repeated ad nauseum throughout Ukraine during Khrushchev's regime.

I have here a photograph of a skull which I examined. It portrays the inhuman, bestial manner in which Khrushchev's agents murdered these innocent victims in Vinnitsa. This photograph shows a skull which obviously had been crushed by some heavy instrument, perhaps a rifle butt. Also, may I conclude that many of the bodies showed that the victims were bound by string. (See p. 35.)

Mr. ARENS. An earlier witness also provided these two additional photographs which show the methods used by Khrushchev to entrench his tyranny in Ukraine. (See pp. 36-37.)

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Dr. Malinin.















The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Prychodko, do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. I do.

#### STATEMENT OF NICHOLAS PRYCHODKO

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. PRYCHODKO. My name is Nicholas Prychodko. My address is Toronto, Canada. I am a professional engineer. I have been the professional engineer of Ontario since 1951. Also, I am the author of the book, "One of the Fifteen Million" (Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1952).

Mr. ARENS. You are visiting here in the United States now?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever lived in Ukraine?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. Yes, I lived in Ukraine from the Russo-Ukrainian War in 1918 until November 1944. I lived in the eastern part of Ukraine until September 1943 and then I went to its western part where I stayed until November 1944.

Mr. ARENS. In what occupation were you engaged while you were in Ukraine?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. Before my arrest, I was an associate professor at Kiev University.

Mr. ARENS. What occasioned your arrest?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. I got no explanation for the first 2 months while I was in prison. Later on, they accused me of being a member of the nationalist Ukrainian underground organization.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us just the highlights of the experiences which I understand you had in various slave labor camps under the Communists.

Mr. PRYCHODKO. At first, I was 21 months in a Kiev prison. During that time I was called several times for interrogation. I was severely beaten during those interrogations. My person was humiliated. The investigators spit in my mouth and hit me with the leg of a chair. To this date, I have pains in my back from those beatings.

At other times I was beaten by a small plank from which protruded about 20 small nails. They have just blunt points and you do not bleed, but you have blue marks after you are hit by that.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly give us a summary of the experiences you had in slave labor camps under the Communists?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. I was in slave labor camps in Ivdel, about 600 miles northeast of Sverdlov. At the end of my time in the concentration camp, I was on the edge of death because of the extremely hard work and scarce food. In the entire complex there were 350,000 slaves. In the particular camp in which I was interned, there were around 3,000 slave laborers. The rate of death was approximately 15 per day while I was there.

Mr. ARENS. What was Nikita Khrushchev doing during your sojourn in the slave labor camps?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. In 1937, as I noticed on some official pictures, Khrushchev was just on the right hand of Stalin in the May Day parade. That means very much because nobody can stand at his

own choice place where Stalin was. If he was on the right hand, it meant he was the most trusted man.

In January of 1938, he was sent as a dictator of Ukraine and no tariff in human life could be made without an order of the secretary general of the Communist Party, who was Khrushchev.

At that time, I remember being in Kiev and Khrushchev arrived with a very big score of NKVD men from Moscow. They called a special meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. At that meeting they were surrounded by the people Khrushchev brought from Moscow and there was an interruption of that meeting at noontime. For example, the head of the Ukrainian People's Commissariat asked to go home; he shot his wife, himself, and tried to shoot his son.

There was a tremendous purge all over Ukraine which followed the arrival of Khrushchev.

Mr. ARENS. Were you living in Ukraine from 1930 to 1933?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did you at firsthand observe the famine of Ukraine during that period?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. In your own words, give us a description of that famine and tell us who was in charge of the perpetration of the famine.

Mr. PRYCHODKO. It is very difficult to describe in a few words the picture of that terrible famine during those years, but I would like to mention a few facts which I observed myself.

First, I observed covered wagons moving along the street on which I lived and also on other streets in Kiev. They were hauling corpses for disposal. Here is a photograph illustrating what I observed then. (See p. 40.)

These were peasants who flocked to the cities for some crust of bread. I saw thousands of those country men—men, women, and children—wandering along Kievan streets looking for some food.

My personal friend, Dr. X—I cannot name him because he is behind the Iron Curtain—he was a surgeon at a hospital in Ukraine. He called me to show me something unusual. He put a white frock on me, just as he was in a white frock, and we went outside to a very large garage in the hospital area. He and I entered it. When he switched on the light, I saw maybe 2,000 to 3,000 corpses laid along the walls.

Mr. ARENS. What caused the death of these people?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. Starvation.

Mr. ARENS. Who caused the starvation?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. The starvation was due to the police and the brigades under orders from Moscow.

Mr. ARENS. What caused the famine?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. When the Germans came to Kiev, we found some statistics in hiding places in the cellar of the Academy of Sciences. They revealed that the food in 1932 was sufficient to feed all Ukrainians for 2 years and 4 months. But, except for about 10 percent, the crop was immediately dispatched from the threshing machines for export and parts outside of Ukraine. That was the cause of hunger.

Mr. ARENS. Why did the Communist regime seize the crops in Ukraine during this period?



Mr. PRYCHODKO. Because at all times there was some kind of discontent and various kinds of resistance to the Communist government in Ukraine and the collectivization drive of Moscow.

Mr. ARENS. What connection did Khrushchev have with this starvation, this man-made famine, in Ukraine?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. At that time Khrushchev became a very trusted man of Stalin.

Mr. ARENS. What did Khrushchev have to do with the man-made famine?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. As I said, at that time he became a very trusted man of Stalin and was in Ukraine then as one of the esteemed executors of Stalin's genocide of the Ukrainian population.

Mr. ARENS. How many people were starved to death by this man-made famine in Ukraine in the thirties?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. It is estimated to be 6 to 7 million, most of whom were peasants.

I have witnessed here today the photographs which these gentlemen have exhibited to the committee of the bodies of people who were massacred by Khrushchev's agents in the community of Vinnitsa.

I would not for a moment minimize the horror of this scene, but I would remind the committee that the inhumanities which I witnessed are even more terrifying because the people who were massacred at Vinnitsa died at least—well, most of them—suddenly and by relatively quick methods. Their suffering can hardly be compared, terrible as it was, to the suffering of the millions upon millions who met their death in Ukraine by a deliberate process of slow starvation.

Let me give you one illustration of what I have in mind.

I walked along the street and saw a young mother. She was all swollen and sat down against the window of a bakery. At the door of the bakery was a policeman and a long line of people. In the window of the bakery were a couple of loaves of bread. That young mother had a bag behind her, and just as she gazed upon that bread, she pulled a corpse of an infant out of that bag—3 or 4 months old—cradled it to her bosom, and cried, "My poor son." I remember it just as though it were today. There were many other details. As shown by these photographs, sir, it was a usual and common sight to observe children bloated from hunger or already dead in the streets from it. (See pp. 42-43.)

Mr. ARENS. You have with great emotion, and thoroughly understandable emotion, described many scenes to us off the record in our informal conversations of the unspeakable horrors which were visited upon the people of Ukraine during this period of man-made famine. I would not suggest that you detail on this record these horrors, but may I ask if you observed instances of cannibalism while the millions were suffering and dying of starvation caused by the Communist regime, of which Khrushchev was, in Ukraine, a vital part?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. I suppose that the matter of cannibalism was the result of some kind of hunger and insanity, because normal people cannot do that. But I remember that it was on a boulevard in Kiev that two policemen caught a man and a woman who ate a part of their own child. The other part of the child was in evidence in a shack. They had been arrested for boiling the flesh of their own child.









Mr. ARENS. And you have detailed other instances which I do not feel would be prudent for us to undertake to put in this record today.

Mr. Prychodko, during this famine in Ukraine, did Mr. Khrushchev, who will soon be winned and dined in the United States, including the White House, make his appearance at these various scenes which you have described both on and off the record and which are almost incomprehensible to civilized people?

Mr. PRYCHODKO. Yes, he was occasionally at the top meetings with the party men.

I might mention the fact that not too many people knew about that famine and Stalin invited people to see that there was no famine in Kharkov, for example. He invited the President of the French Republic. As today, many were hoodwinked then as to realities in the Soviet Union.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much, Mr. Prychodko.

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The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear, Mr. Kononenko and Mr. Warvariv, that the testimony you are about to give this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KONONENKO. I do.

Mr. WARVARIV. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF CONSTANTIN KONONENKO (INTERPRETER, CONSTANTINE WARVARIV)

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. KONONENKO. Constantin Kononenko, Boonton, N.J.

Mr. ARENS. What is your occupation?

Mr. KONONENKO. I am presently employed with Prolog Association, which is a research and publishing organization.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. KONONENKO. No.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been admitted to the United States for permanent residence?

Mr. KONONENKO. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a refugee?

Mr. KONONENKO. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. During the period of 1930 to 1933, were you a resident of Ukraine?

Mr. KONONENKO. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have firsthand knowledge from your own experiences of the famine in Ukraine at that time?

Mr. KONONENKO. Personally at that time I was not a witness to this tragedy because I was arrested. However, due to my studies and scholarly interests, I am very well informed on the events in Ukraine at that time.

Mr. ARENS. What was your occupation or profession at that time?

Mr. KONONENKO. At that time I was a professor at the Agricultural Institute in Kharkov as well as the director of the Agricultural Ministry.

Mr. ARENS. Proceed then if you please, sir, to supply the committee now with such information as you possess respecting the famine in Ukraine.

Mr. KONONENKO. To which period do you refer?

Mr. ARENS. The beginning of the early thirties.

Mr. KONONENKO. By my testimony I would like to prove that the famine which took place in Ukraine in the early 1930's was through genocide. It actually started in 1930. The action, as it began, was known as the collectivization action, by the decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of February 1, 1930.

In Ukraine, the local agencies of the Central Committee of the Communist Party were empowered to use all the means available in their fight with the entire peasant population. According to the decree, those measures were not to spread to other parts of the Soviet Union. By a decree of January 5, 1930, there was supposed to come about a liquidation of the semibourgeois peasantry in Ukraine.

On the other hand, the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., concentrated in Russia proper, stipulated that the collectivization decree pertaining to Russia proper was not to be interpreted as applying to the whole class of peasantry.

Mr. ARENS. How was this done?

Mr. KONONENKO. This was done by the local Communist leaders. They prepared lists of those elements which were not trustworthy to the regime. The individual was visited by those local Communist leaders and everything he possessed was taken away from him. He was expelled from his house which was taken by the state. More, he was expelled from his district or was deported to the far north.

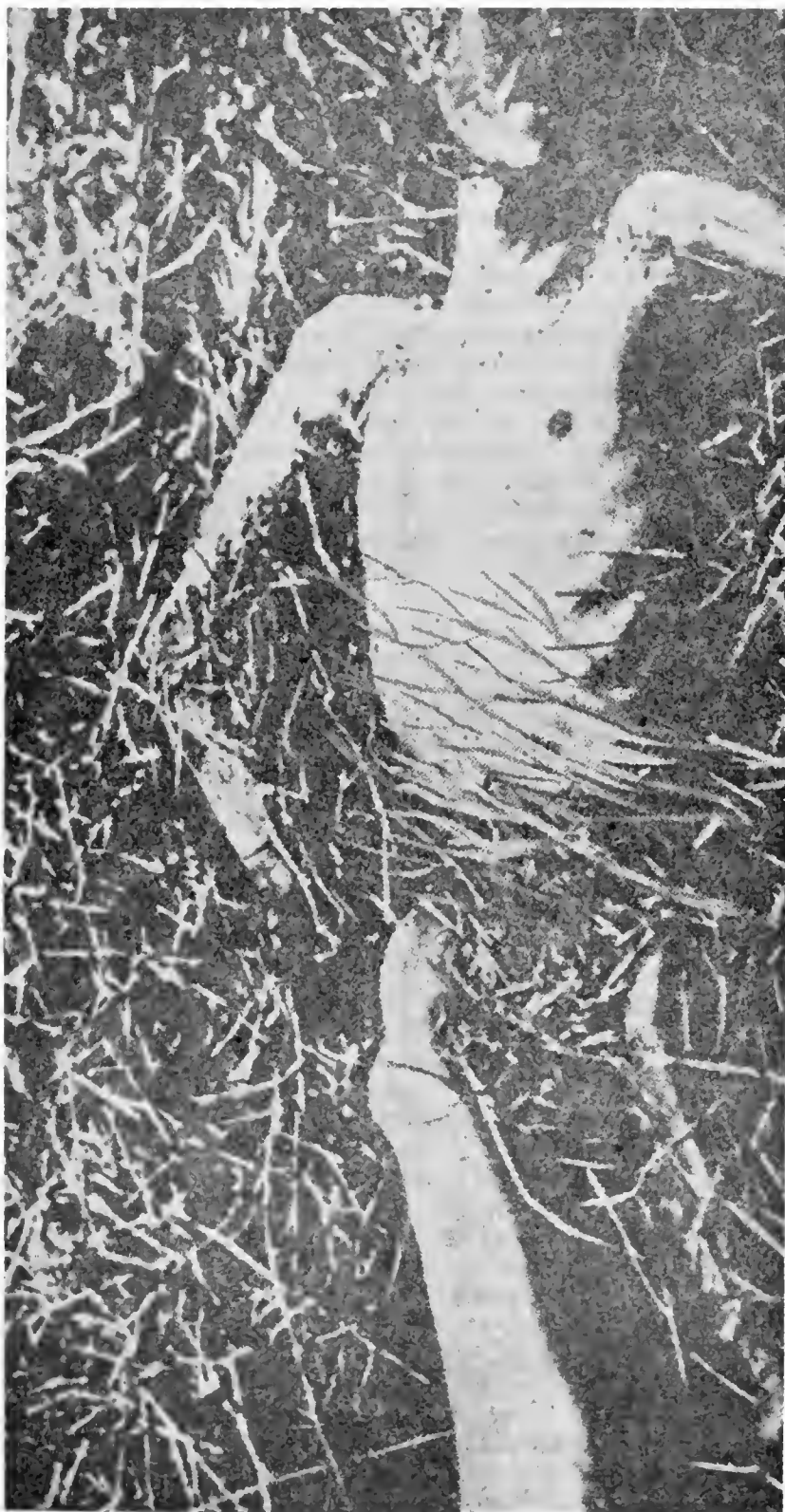
Actually, in Ukraine the so-called semibourgeois peasantry constituted only about 5 percent of the peasantry. According to present-day information, it can be shown that at that time 17 percent of the Ukrainian peasantry was affected by that decree.

Therefore, the collectivization action then struck not only the 5 percent, the so-called semibourgeois peasantry, but also other poorer peasants.

About half a million families had their possessions expropriated, which means around 2 million individuals or persons. In Ukraine, prior to the Bolshevik revolution, there were about 19 million tons of wheat harvested annually. In 1931 there were 18 million tons. In 1932, this dropped to 14,700,000 tons of wheat. Seventy-five percent of the population of Ukraine was employed in agriculture and about 9 percent in industry.

In order to speed up the industrialization of Ukraine, wheat was needed for export in order to import agricultural machinery from outside. For this purpose, in order to increase relatively the amount of wheat or bread, consumers had to be reduced. I can furnish further statistics on livestock and the like, but I believe these original photos of human and animal death from hunger in Ukraine, in themselves, speak 20,000 words. (See pp. 46-47.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Kononenko, at the 20th party congress, Khrushchev stated that Stalin had perpetrated these mass deportations and genocides in Ukraine, and he attempted to place the blame on Stalin for these great inhumanities.





Based upon your study of the situation, was Khrushchev truthful in his assessment of total blame of this series of inhumanities to Stalin?

Mr. KONONENKO. At the beginning of World War II, the Ukrainian population demonstrated its feelings against communism and Russian domination, and this is a fact. Therefore, this can also be interpreted as expressed feelings against Stalin's policy. However, the leader of that policy in Ukraine was Khrushchev.

Although Khrushchev may today properly assess against Stalin the basic decision that there was to be a mass starvation in Ukraine, Khrushchev cannot obliterate the historical fact that he was actually the perpetrator of the details of this man-made famine; that he, Khrushchev, was the one who carried out the basic policy of Stalin pursuant to which millions of human beings were deprived knowingly, premeditatedly, of the food which they themselves had raised. Khrushchev cannot disassociate himself from the blood and misery of this awful epoch in the history of Ukraine, in which he directly, actively, and knowingly participated as the chief engineer of the policy announced by his then chief, Stalin.

In 1930, Khrushchev was not yet then a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. By 1934, he became a full-fledged member of the Central Committee.

There is no doubt that in order to become a full-fledged member of the Central Committee, Khrushchev had to prove to Stalin that he was worthy of this promotion. This he did in executing the man-made famine policy in Ukraine.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Kononenko.

# THE CRIMES OF KHRUSHCHEV

## Part 2

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THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1959

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D.C.*

### CONSULTATIONS

The following consultation with Mykola Lebed and Dr. Gregory Kostiuk, respectively, was held at 1:30 p.m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, presiding.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, staff director; George C. Williams, investigator.

Also present: Constantine Warvariv, employee of the Library of Congress, special interpreter.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order and the two witnesses and interpreter be sworn.

Do you, Mr. Lebed and Dr. Kostiuk, and Mr. Warvariv solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LEBED. I do.

Dr. KOSTIUK. I do.

Mr. WARVARIV. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Arens.

### STATEMENT OF MYKOLA LEBED (INTERPRETER, CONSTANTINE WARVARIV)

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself, Mr. Lebed, by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. LEBED. My name is Mykola Lebed. I live at 353 Fort Washington Avenue, New York City. I am a member of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, and its general secretary of foreign affairs.

I am also now the president of Prolog, a research and publishing association in New York.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. LEBED. I am a citizen.

Mr. ARENS. Give us if you please, sir, a brief sketch of your personal background.

Mr. LEBED. From 1927 I was a member of the Ukrainian underground movement.

Mr. ARENS. From 1927 until when?



Mr. LEBED. In a way, to this day. Beginning in 1927, and until this very hour, I have devoted my life to the Ukrainian underground movement in an attempt to free Ukraine from foreign domination.

From 1941 until 1943 I was a leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement in Ukraine and led the movement against the German Hitlerite occupation.

In 1944 the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council sent me abroad in order to inform the Western World about the liberation movement of the Ukrainian people and its organized underground forces, especially UPA, which was the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

To get support for this liberation movement, in October, 1949, I came to the United States of America and from then on have lived in New York City.

Mr. ARENS. During World War II did you live in Ukraine and participate in the Ukrainian underground?

Mr. LEBED. I did.

Mr. ARENS. Under whose domination was Ukraine during World War II?

Mr. LEBED. To a large extent German, but officially, Khrushchev remained the first secretary of the Ukrainian Republic and was one of the leaders of the Soviet partisan movement in occupied Ukraine.

Mr. ARENS. What was the Soviet partisan movement in Ukraine?

Mr. LEBED. It was an organized partisan movement which operated in the rear of the German army in order to help the Soviet forces.

It consisted mostly of members of the NKVD, and its objective was not so much to fight the German army as to provoke persecutions by the Germans directed against the Ukrainian population.

With that purpose they infiltrated the nationalist Ukrainian partisan movement. One of the leaders of the Soviet partisan movement, Dimitri N. Medvedev, in his book "Strong in Spirit," which was published in Moscow in 1951, confirms the statement which I just made.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly continue with your exposition of the role of Khrushchev in Ukraine during World War II?

Mr. LEBED. After his return in 1944 to Ukraine, Khrushchev and his subordinates started the mass deportation of the Ukrainian population which previously was under German occupation. Especially the persecutions against the members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army were begun.

When he could not liquidate from the very beginning the Ukrainian liberation movement and the UPA, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the Ukrainian population at large was very severely persecuted and, on many occasions, parts of it were murdered.

I should like, specially, to illustrate the methods of terror which were applied at that time. To those members of the Ukrainian resistance movement who were caught, as well as their families, the NKVD and NKGB applied the following measures of terror:

With hot irons they tortured those prisoners who were caught.

They cut into the skin and tore the skin off from the living body.

They also nailed people on the cross.

They cut off the sexual organs, and breasts of women.

They cut out eyes, broke bones in legs and arms and extracted nails.

Mr. ARENS. Specifically, in what areas were these atrocities committed, to your certain knowledge?



Mr. LEBED. In the districts of Tarnopil, Stanislaviv, Drohobych, Czernivci, Rivne, Zhytomir, and Kaminec-Podilsk, all in Ukraine.

These methods of terror were applied not only to prisoners in interrogation rooms and cells, but also in public places, forcing people to get together to witness these atrocities.

At the same time a degree of bacteriological warfare was started. They poisoned medical capsules with certain injections of typhus. In certain areas sicknesses or illnesses were spread, and in order to cope with them there was a need for certain medical supplies and help.

So they poisoned medical capsules or medicines which were supposed to be used to cure a patient. In that way, instead of curing him they inflicted certain other diseases which became very widely spread after the injections.

Also, water for public use was poisoned. Cigarettes and chocolates were tampered with in this manner. After consuming them, people became sick.

Mr. ARENS. What appeared to be the objective of the Communists in perpetrating these barbarities?

Mr. LEBED. These methods were applied in order to terrorize the population of Ukraine and depress its will to resist the regime.

Mr. ARENS. Who was directing the perpetration of these barbarities in Ukraine?

Mr. LEBED. Khrushchev was the man, since he was the "Gauleiter" at that time in Ukraine.

He was the first secretary of the Central Committee of Ukraine's Communist Party and the chairman of the council of ministers at that time.

This action was also directly led by Lieutenant General Riasnyv, at that time chief of the NKVD in Ukraine who was subordinate to Khrushchev.

I can continue to explain Khrushchev's methods and those of his subordinates in 1947 and 1948 in Ukraine, if you wish.

Mr. ARENS. After the conclusion of the war did the attack continue under Khrushchev and his cohorts against the Ukrainian liberation forces?

Mr. LEBED. Yes. It was not only continued, but also the most terrifying methods were applied after the war. This was not only against the members of the Ukrainian partisan movement but also against the Ukrainian population, especially in those regions where the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was very active.

Here is a photo taken by the UPA of a pharmacist and sanitarian in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) who were captured, tortured, and murdered by the Reds in 1947. (See p. 52.)

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting the activities of Khrushchev in connection with the genocide of the Catholic Church in Ukraine?

Mr. LEBED. Yes; I do.

On April 11, 1945, 600 members of the NKVD surrounded the palace of Metropolitan Josef Slipyi and arrested on the same day all bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Out of eight bishops, today there is alive only Metropolitan Josef Slipyi; all the others died.

Metropolitan Josef Slipyi was sentenced in 1945 to eight years in prison, and in April-May of this year, 1959, he was tried again in



Kiev and was sentenced for an additional seven years to so-called labor camps, which are really concentration camps.

He is now 67 years old, and I have in my hand a picture of him.

I also have in my possession pictures of Ukrainian prisoners who had been murdered by the NKVD during 1941, when Khrushchev was the first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine. I was a witness and saw with my own eyes those murdered prisoners. (See p. 54.)

Mr. LEBED. I want to make clear that I have exact information, exact data if you wish, about the eight bishops, of whom seven died in concentration camps and only one, Metropolitan Josef Slipyi, is still alive.

I should like, however, to emphasize that it is quite important that Metropolitan Josef Slipyi, who is still alive, was tried again this year in Kiev and was sentenced again for seven years to hard slave labor.

Khrushchev says that there are no political prisoners in the Soviet Union. This fact alone contradicts his statement.

Mr. ARENS. Based upon your current information from intelligence sources in Ukraine, is Khrushchev operating slave labor camps and concentration camps?

Mr. LEBED. I have precise information with names of inmates. I do not want to mention those names here, but I have names of those who are at this moment, on this very day, still in concentration camps in the Soviet Union.

Mr. ARENS. Could you tell on the record please, sir, the location of some of the concentration camps currently being operated by Khrushchev in the Communist empire?

Mr. LEBED. Yes, I will give you some of the locations. One is in the Taishet area; another one is in the Irkutsk area; and there is the prison in Vladymir near Moscow.

Mr. ARENS. How many priests in addition to these Catholic bishops were destroyed?

Mr. LEBED. I would like to state that until 1945, that is, until the mass arrest of the bishops and priests in Ukraine, there were 4,400 Catholic churches in Ukraine and 127 monasteries. Today there is not one Catholic church in Ukraine.

Mr. ARENS. How do you account for the statements which are currently being made by certain of the distinguished travelers to the Soviet Union that Khrushchev no longer operates slave labor camps in his empire?

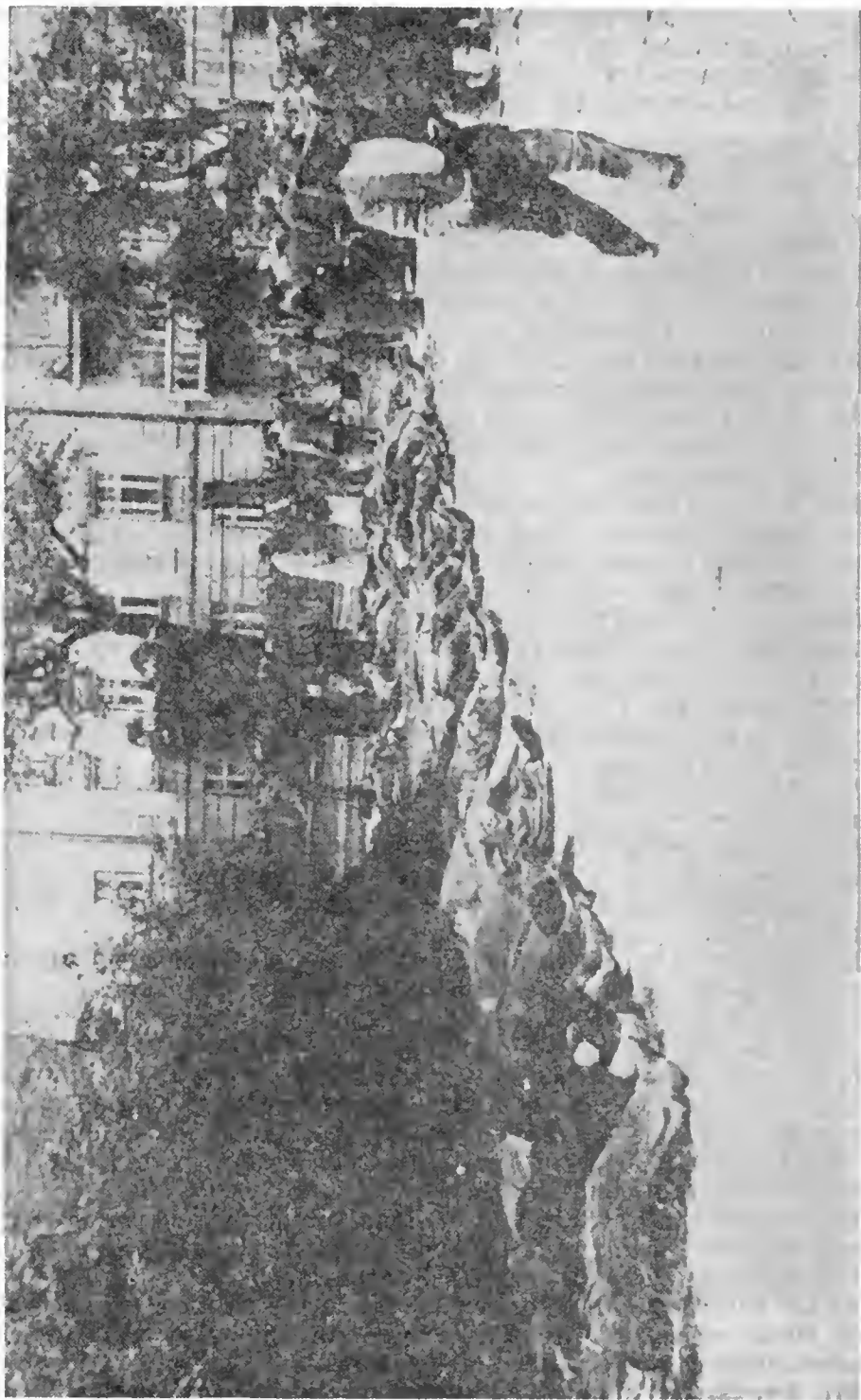
Mr. LEBED. I would like to say the following: That when Khrushchev found out that the Western World knew of some concentration camps and their geographical location, he released the inhabitants of those camps that were known by the Western World, as, for example, in Vorkuta and Norylsk.

He changed the status of those prisoners from political prisoners to those who were forcibly resettled and restricted to the respective areas, not to be known directly as political prisoners.

At the same time he transferred some of the political prisoners to such places which until that time were not known to the West as concentration camps or forced labor camps.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have additional current information that there are political slave labor camps in the Soviet Union?

Mr. LEBED. Yes; I do.



Mr. ARENS. What is that additional information?

Mr. LEBED. The information consists of letters from families of those prisoners, political prisoners in concentration camps.

Mr. ARENS. I have in my hand an article in today's, September 10 issue of the New York Times, page 1, by Harrison E. Salisbury, in which Mr. Salisbury states among other things that Mr. Khrushchev is running the Soviet Union without fear, and that the labor camps have been liquidated and the power of the secret police has been reduced.

Based upon your current information from intelligence sources of the underground in the Soviet Union, are these observations which are made public by Mr. Salisbury true and correct?

Mr. LEBED. I can definitely say that based upon current intelligence sources which I have in my possession now from the Soviet Union, Mr. Salisbury's statement is absolutely incorrect. I know that there are political concentration camps operating now in the Soviet Union.

In addition to the confidential sources of information which I presently have, may I again call your attention to one obvious bit of evidence which the world knows; namely, that Metropolitan Slipyi was tried in May of this year, 1959, and sentenced to 7 years of concentration camp labor.

I hold that the statement by Mr. Salisbury that there is no fear of the regime in the Soviet Union amongst the population is simply not true. I would like to add, if you please, that at this very moment there still exist the MVD and KGB and that in June of 1959, this year, there were tried in Ukraine members of the underground movement and they were sentenced to death. It should be obvious to any thinking person that as long as there exists a dictatorship in the Soviet Union, a dictatorship of the Communist Party and Khrushchev, we cannot expect that the peoples of the Soviet Union will be relieved of fear.

Mr. ARENS. Is there freedom of religion in Ukraine today?

Mr. LEBED. There is a so-called freedom of religion, but of a religion which is officially accepted and approved by the regime.

Mr. ARENS. Is that free religion? Are people permitted to worship at churches of their choice?

Mr. LEBED. No; of course it is not freedom of religion because it is absolutely dominated by the regime.

I should like to state that the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was liquidated and is not reinstated today in the Soviet Union. The Ukrainian Catholic Church is liquidated and also does not exist.

Therefore, the Ukrainian people do not have their own churches.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Lebed, what will be the effect upon the people of Ukraine when they see in the newspapers, pictures of the officialdom of this free Nation welcoming Khrushchev and wining and dining him, including the White House?

Mr. LEBED. I think that the Ukrainian people will probably draw the conclusion that the power of Khrushchev, of his regime and of the Communist Party, is so strong that even the American Government had to invite Khrushchev to come over.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Lebed.

**STATEMENT OF DR. GREGORY KOSTIUK (INTERPRETER,  
CONSTANTINE WARVARIV)**

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Dr. KOSTIUK. My name is Gregory Kostiuk. I live in New York City at the address, 25 East 78th Street. I am a literary worker and researcher.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Dr. KOSTIUK. Yes; I am.

Mr. ARENS. Please, sir, give us a brief sketch of your own personal background.

Dr. KOSTIUK. I was born into a poor peasant family in the district of Kaminec-Podilsk. I graduated from Kiev University. From 1925 to 1929 I studied at Kiev University in the field of languages and literature.

From 1930 to 1932 I studied at and graduated from the Research Institute in Kharkov and received a Ph. D. there. From 1932 till 1935 I was an associate professor in the University of Kharkov.

In November 1935 I was arrested by the NKVD and without trial, by decision of an extraordinary commission of the NKVD, I was sent to a concentration camp in Vorkuta. I was there until the end of 1940.

After I served my term, I was released and permitted to live in a little town in the Donbas where at that time my wife lived.

There I was enveloped by the German occupation and later was taken to Germany where I worked as a so-called Ost-Arbaiter.

The American Army liberated me when I was in the city of Offenbach in Germany. From then on, I lived in the DP camps in Germany, working as a teacher and a journalist. On January 27, 1952, I came to the United States of America.

Mr. ARENS. During the course of your studies have you had occasion to make a careful survey of the life and activities of Khrushchev?

Dr. KOSTIUK. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly proceed to give the committee the highlights of that information which you have developed in the course of your studies?

Dr. KOSTIUK. As far as the biography of Khrushchev is concerned, I have information which was published prior to 1938 when he was not too big a boss. As many know, he was, in 1938, appointed the secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

I think that those sources up to 1938 are actually of great interest, as to the character and ways of the man.

Khrushchev was born in 1894 in the village of Kalinovka, in the Kursk district in Russia, in a family of Russian agricultural workers. Prior to joining the Russian Imperial Army before World War I, Khrushchev attended only three years of grade school. In the summer of 1917, he deserted the army and was at home again in Kursk. In 1918, Khrushchev was in the Red army. There is enough to indicate that he was simply drafted into the Red army; in other words, he did not join the army voluntarily.

All documents state that until this time Khrushchev was neither interested in politics nor participated in political movements.

Khrushchev, while he was in the Red army, was just a soldier, a plain soldier. Later on he joined the party.

Mr. ARENS. This gives us some insight into the fabric of the man. Now, what did he do in the 1920's?

Dr. KOSTIUK. In 1921, Khrushchev was released from the army and was sent directly as a plain laborer to a mine. This was more than surprising because he was a man who had a party card in his pocket. I know and I can state that all members of the Communist Party at the end of the revolution and the wars against the independent non-Russian republics were either hired for political work in the party or were sent either to military academies or to institutions of higher learning.

However, Khrushchev was not sent to any of the places which I just mentioned, which meant, I believe, that at that time Khrushchev was not developed intellectually.

By 1923 he was sent to a vocational school, which was not a regular school. He finished the school in 1926.

Mr. ARENS. When did he actually begin to delve into political operations?

Dr. KOSTIUK. It was in 1928 when he was in charge of the organizational department of the district party committee in Kiev. At that time Kiev was not the capital of Ukraine.

In 1929 he was a secretary at an academy in Moscow, the Promyshelnaya Akademia. The wife of Stalin, Nadezhda Alliluyeva, also was a secretary at the academy and the chairman of the local party committee. Each institution had its own party organization, and she was chairman of that local party committee of the academy.

Later on, this post was occupied by Khrushchev. This was the first actual important position held by Khrushchev in the party machinery.

Mr. ARENS. What progress did he make in the 1930's?

Dr. KOSTIUK. In 1931 and 1932 we see Khrushchev as a secretary of the Baumanovskii district and, later on, the Krasnopresnenskii district of Moscow.

After services rendered in famined Ukraine in 1934, he became the secretary of the whole city of Moscow. In 1935 he was not only the secretary of the city but also the secretary of the district of Moscow.

I would like to point out that the secretary of the city of Moscow is a very high party position. And Khrushchev, the secretary of the Moscow Communist Party, was responsible, officially responsible, for the policy of the whole party for the city of Moscow and the district of Moscow.

He remained at that post until January 1938, when he was appointed by Stalin as the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. What relationship did Khrushchev have with those people he began to rehabilitate in 1956?

Dr. KOSTIUK. After his "secret" speech to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of U.S.S.R., in February 1956, Khrushchev started a rehabilitation of former dignitaries of the Communist Party, scientists and writers.

Among those whom he rehabilitated I would like to mention: Kossior, Chubar, Zatonskyi, and many other very important party officials and writers. Now, Khrushchev says that those people were



persecuted without reason and this is why he is trying to rehabilitate them.

I would like to state, however, that Khrushchev was not only responsible but actually was a leader in the murder of those people whose names I just mentioned.

Mr. ARENS. Am I clear in my impression from your testimony that the people whom Khrushchev rehabilitated posthumously were people whom he himself directed to be murdered?

Dr. KOSTIUK. Yes. I state that is true. If you wish, I am prepared to supply detailed facts on the case.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us some of the facts.

Dr. KOSTIUK. In March and April of 1937 there was a very important plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. At this plenum Rykov and Bukharin, known Communist leaders, were expelled from the party. There was evidently a quiet opposition against the methods which Stalin had applied to his old comrades.

Stalin executed those who were in opposition to him at that March plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. And Khrushchev was not among this so-called opposition at that time—just to the contrary.

I have here Khrushchev's speeches in 1937 in which he stated, and actually invited cooperation in this respect, that all so-called factions of Bukharin, Trotsky, and also bourgeois nationalists should be executed.

I am quoting this from the Pravda issue of June 7, 1937. At that time he was the secretary of the Moscow district. Here is the exact citation: "to annihilate all Trotskyites, Zinovievites, enemies of the people, to the last kin, so that there will remain not even a memory behind them and to scatter them to the winds."

This was at the time when Stalin was already embarked on his great purge of thousands of people. Khrushchev was on his side and was his very close collaborator and helper in that annihilation.

This shows that Stalin had very great faith in Khrushchev, and the fact that in that great purge Khrushchev was not touched definitely indicates this. When Stalin was executing the whole leadership of the Communist Party, as well as the whole so-called Parliament of Ukraine, he did not send anyone but Khrushchev as his most trusted man to Ukraine.

Even his predecessor, Postyshev, could not accomplish what Khrushchev was able to accomplish after him. The hangman of Ukraine established his reputation.

This is also evident from two sources. One is from the speech of the associate of Tito, Moša Pijade, which is cited by Dedijer in his book which appeared in English, "Tito."

The other source is the book of Avtorkhanov, "The Reign of Stalin," which states that in September of 1937 Stalin sent a commission to Ukraine which consisted of Molotov, Yezhov, and Khrushchev.

Mr. ARENS. What was the purpose of this commission?

Dr. KOSTIUK. This commission was supposed to eliminate Kossior, Lubchenko, and Petrovskiy from the leading posts and install Khrushchev as the general secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

However, the plenum of the central committee of the Ukrainian Republic was absolutely against this candidacy, and Khrushchev's



candidacy was rejected. As a result of this courageous rejection, historical documents state that in the beginning of 1938 there was not even one member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party who was not annihilated or arrested.

Out of 62 members of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party and 40 candidates to the Ukrainian Communist Party there were only three persons who were unaffected. Out of the 17 members of the Lubchenko government, there was not even a single one left.

Even Premier Lubchenko, himself, committed suicide the next day and also killed his wife.

Mr. ARENS. What happened to the others you mentioned earlier?

Dr. KOSTIUK. At the end of 1937, Kossior was taken to Moscow. So was Petrovskiy. Petrovskiy was the head of the Parliament of Soviet Ukraine.

On January 29, 1938, Khrushchev became the general secretary of an actually nonexistent central committee. Along with him there emerged a whole number of new people, new faces, like Korotchenko, Sheberko, Bermichenko, and a number of other people who never lived in Ukraine and had actually nothing to do with the culture or history of Ukraine.

Soon thereafter, Kossior and Zatonskiy were executed; Petrovskiy was sent to a concentration camp.

And this is how Khrushchev started to build the Government of the Ukrainian Republic.

Now Khrushchev says that he should not be blamed for the execution of the whole Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, that he had nothing to do with the execution, that it was Stalin's crime alone.

The execution of such known, important people was not without his sanction or knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Dr. Kostiuk, for your presentation today.



# THE CRIMES OF KHRUSHCHEV

## Part 2

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FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1959

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D.C.*

### CONSULTATIONS

The following consultation with Prof. Ivan Wowchuk and Mr. Jurij Lawrynenko, respectively, was held at 1:30 p.m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, presiding.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, staff director; George C. Williams, investigator.

Also present: Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor in Soviet economics, Georgetown University, special staff consultant; and Mr. Constantine Warvariv, an employee of the Library of Congress, special interpreter.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order, and the two witnesses and interpreter will be sworn.

Do you Professor Wowchuk, Mr. Lawrynenko, and Mr. Warvariv, solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Professor WOWCHUK. I do.

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. I do.

Mr. WARVARIV. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Arens.

### STATEMENT BY PROF. IVAN WOWCHUK (INTERPRETER, CONSTANTINE WARVARIV)

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Professor WOWCHUK. My name is Ivan Wowchuk. I reside at 230 East Fourth Street, New York City. I am a journalist.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Professor WOWCHUK. Yes; I am a citizen of the United States of America.

Mr. ARENS. Please give us a thumbnail sketch of your own personal background.

Professor WOWCHUK. I was born in 1900 in the Kholm district, city of Kholm, in Ukraine. Most of the time I lived and worked in the Kharkov district as a teacher and researcher. For about 2 years I was employed as an agricultural engineer.

I was arrested three times by the Communists. Prior to World War II, I was employed in Nikopol as a director of a high school. In 1943 I left Ukraine; was actively engaged in the Ukrainian resistance movement; and from 1945 on I lived in different parts of Europe until I came to this country.

Mr. ARENS. Have you in the course of your residency in the United States assembled authoritative information on the Soviet Union?

Professor WOWCHUK. Yes; I have.

Mr. ARENS. For the purposes of our inquiry here today, may I direct your attention to the life and activities of Khrushchev since World War II? May I say, by way of explanation, that in the course of the recent past, we have on record an abundance of testimony respecting Khrushchev's life and activities during other periods of his life.

Would you kindly proceed to supply the committee with the vital information you possess respecting Khrushchev since World War II?

Professor WOWCHUK. Yes. I will be brief.

From the retreat of the Red army until 1950, Khrushchev was the actual leader of the Ukrainian Communist Party and a most trusted man of Stalin.

Khrushchev himself stated this at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. First, he stated this at the plenum in 1938; then he repeated this in 1945 and 1946.

I am not going to belabor you with the many quotations from Khrushchev. However, a specific citation which I would like to present to you indicates that he continued the party line of Yezhov in Ukraine, and that he was personally responsible for the demolition of the culture and other treasures of Kharkov, Kiev, and other cities in Ukraine.

Mr. ARENS. What period of time are you covering specifically?

Professor WOWCHUK. This is the period during the retreat of the Red army.

When Ukraine was again occupied in 1944-45 by the Red army, the political line of the party which Khrushchev followed and upheld, was, of course, laid down by Stalin. It was summarized in Stalin's speech, made in 1945, in which he stated that only the Russian people actually saved the Soviet empire from collapse.

In October of 1945, at a meeting of the party committee in Kiev, Khrushchev stated that he who does not maintain friendly relationships with the Russian people automatically undermines the interest of international communism.

His political line from 1946 up to date is actually the extermination of so-called bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism.

This policy line is being followed generally in three directions: economic, political, and cultural.

Let us look at the economic. In 1945-46, Khrushchev organized another, small, man-made famine in Ukraine. About this famine the Western World knows almost nothing. There were no reports in the Western press about this.

In 1945, the Ukrainian peasantry was methodically robbed of its grain—of bread. This can definitely be interpreted as an attempt to undercut the national substance and existence of the Ukrainian population.

Mr. ARENS. Am I clear in my interpretation of your testimony that you are describing another famine in Ukraine perpetrated by Khrushchev subsequent to the great famine in the thirties?

Professor Wowchuk. Actually this was a third hunger organized in Ukraine. The first one was in 1921, the second was in 1933, and the third was in 1945-46.

Mr. ARENS. Proceed if you please, sir.

Professor Wowchuk. Continuing with the economic aspect of his policy, I would like to point out that in 1950, Khrushchev started the centralization of the kolkhozi, the collective farms. Thus, instead of the 240,000 kolkhozs, there were, beginning in 1952, only around 90,000 kolkhozs.

The basic reason for this is that by such centralization he wanted to achieve first of all a better control of the population and then also to fight any possible resistance on the part of the Ukrainian people.

As a continuation of this policy, Khrushchev, in 1953 had a barbaric law promulgated. The exact name of the law is: Measures toward the raising of the agricultural output of the country.

The political meaning of that new law is this: The whole family is supposed to be responsible for the deeds of any one member of the family as far as a kolkhoz is concerned.

In other words, a farmer or a kolkhoz man is forced to do his best because his family, wife and children, will be held responsible. In my view, this is a most barbaric law.

The law was clearly in line with the official Khrushchev policy aimed at the extermination of Ukrainian nationalism in Ukraine.

Mr. ARENS. What other phase of his economic policy could you describe for us?

Professor Wowchuk. In 1954, Khrushchev started his known policy of the so-called virgin lands. He had two points in mind.

The first point is to develop the economic base of the whole empire in case Ukraine would be lost to the Soviet empire; and second, to expel and disperse active Ukrainian elements to those virgin lands. The second phase of his policy prevails at the present time.

In 1954, the Soviet press gave the following figures:

In the first year, from Ukraine, there were expelled and resettled 11,000 tractor machinists and 16,000 other specialists in agricultural fields.

To replace them, entirely new people were brought into Ukraine. Those new specialists were selected from the ranks of the party. This was definitely a measure designed to "crucify" the administrative apparatus of Ukraine.

I should also like to mention here Khrushchev's law of last year, forming the so-called voluntary workers' brigades. They are organized from the party members and are supposed to help the local police forces.

Very briefly, I characterize these brigades as the ear and eye of the Kremlin in Ukraine. They are in the schools, in industry, in agriculture, and in the kolkhozi. But they all are subordinate to the ministry of internal affairs of the U.S.S.R. from which they receive all directions.

Ostensibly there is a voluntary system of organizing the brigades, but actually it is administratively under the central apparatus in the Kremlin.

Mr. ARENS. What are the alleged and the real purposes of these brigades?

Professor Wowchuk. It is described that the purpose of these brigades is to fight against alcoholism, malingering, work negligence. This is the ostensible purpose.

The real purpose is to try to squelch Ukrainian nationalism. To substantiate this, I would like to mention two specific facts of the past two years.

In 1959, there were two open political trials in Ukraine. One was in March 1959, and the other was on July 31, 1959. The preparations for these trials go as far back as July 1958.

In the trial which took place in March 1959, there were five Ukrainian freedom fighters tried and executed; in July, also five. These were so-called public trials, where the population from nearby villages were forced to attend and to witness the trials.

Mr. ARENS. Where were these trials held?

Professor Wowchuk. The first one, in March 1959, was in Czervon-sarmijsk—that is the Soviet name of the locality—in the Volyn oblast (district). The trial in July was in Stanislaviv, a district in Ukraine.

Mr. ARENS. You mentioned earlier something about Khrushchev's cultural policy. Could you describe it?

Professor Wowchuk. I would be glad to describe it.

In 1946, there were five different laws promulgated in the fight against Ukrainian culture. Specifically, all five laws were directed against the press. I could mention several journals; one of them was "Perets," another, "Vitchyzna."

These measures were also directed against the theater.

For example, the known writer Korneichuk, was forced to rewrite his libretto to an operetta called "Bohdan Khmelnytsky"; Sosiura was sentenced for the poem "Love of Ukraine."

In 1946, Khrushchev was a leading man in Ukraine. He was the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party as well as the chairman of the Ukrainian government. It is a fact that Khrushchev was one of the most closely related persons to Stalin, and he substantially follows the policy of his great teacher today.

Here is another very good example which I have in mind. It is Khrushchev's law of April 17, 1959, concerning the use of languages in the schools of Ukraine.

The author of this law was Khrushchev. In the session of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. in 1958, Khrushchev presented his basic thesis on school reforms in Ukraine. In that thesis Khrushchev stated very plainly that parents and students themselves should decide in which language courses should be taught in Ukraine.

Mr. ARENS. This would appear that he was quite liberal. Is that so?

Professor Wowchuk. To the contrary. Khrushchev's edict is designed to eliminate the teaching of the Ukrainian language. It aims to emasculate the tongue which is foreign to Russians residing in Ukraine. By the decisions and votes of these residents, it seeks to suppress independent Ukrainian culture.

This new law is presented in the July 1959 issue of the journal, "Kommunist," pages 36 and 37. I would like to read just one short

sentence which says, in effect, that this new measure will tend to spread the Russian language in the schools of Ukraine:

Therefore we can say that the Russian people have rightfully gained the position of semantic leadership of the nation.

So, this Khrushchev line, starting really with 1945 to the present date, is very clearly designed toward a Russification of Ukraine.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any other facts which you would like to recount in the life or activities of Khrushchev since World War II.

Professor Wowchuk. Yes. I would like to emphasize the following episode in Khrushchev's policy toward Ukraine. Khrushchev says that today there is no political persecution in the Soviet Union. We know, however, that the so-called voluntary workers' brigades are used as tools in arresting people who are really deemed political prisoners, held ostensibly for criminal offenses.

In other words, Khrushchev's henchmen are using terminology applicable to criminal offenses in order to liquidate political opposition. This is just one facet of his masquerade in the U.S.S.R.

Mr. ARENS. Certain distinguished personages of the United States who have visited the Soviet Union have made statements to the effect that since Stalin's death and the 20th party congress, Khrushchev has become more humane. Do you have incidents which you can recount bearing on this subject?

Professor Wowchuk. To answer your question, I would like to say that those distinguished American visitors who visit the Soviet Union do not go to all the places. They are not permitted to see many places which they probably would like to see.

As to Khrushchev, that he has changed to be a very humane person, I would like to repeat again that the two recent trials, in themselves, by which 10 human beings were executed, show that there is no fundamental change in his attitude or in his inhumanity.

Another illustration relates to how this so-called trend of liberalism was felt by the population. Prisoners of the Soviet concentration camps struck for better living conditions, and the result was that they were barbarously killed by Russian tanks. In one concentration camp at Kingir, 500 women were killed in 1954 by army tanks.

To this I would like to add that the industrialization of the Soviet Union continues to be essentially based on slave labor. The number of prisoners under Khrushchev's regime definitely did not measurably decline. The methods of arrest were changed. That is about all that was changed.

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. Warvariv, please express our appreciation to Professor Wowchuk. We are delighted with his presence and the information he has given us.

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#### STATEMENT OF JURIJ LAWRYNENKO (INTERPRETER, CONSTANTINE WARVARIV)

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. My name is Jurij Lawrynenko. I was born in 1905. My address is 870 Columbus Avenue, New York, N.Y. I am a writer.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Yes; I am a citizen of the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Please give us a brief sketch of your background.

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. I am a graduate of Kharkov University and also of the graduate school of the Ukrainian Academy in the fields of history and literature.

My first literary work was purged, and I was arrested twice. I spent one and one-half years in several Kharkov prisons and three years in a concentration camp on the Taymyr Peninsula. After that, there were three years of banishment without guard in the North Caucasus.

When the fighting line of World War II approached the Caucasus, I was arrested a third time but escaped and made my way to my motherland. Later I was deported to Germany and worked as a forced laborer until liberated. Subsequently, I worked as an editor-in-chief of a Ukrainian biweekly.

I came to America on April 20, 1950, and here I have published several books, such as "Ukrainian Communism" and "Soviet Points Toward the Ukraine."

I have worked for Columbia University on its research program of the U.S.S.R., and now I am a freelance writer.

Mr. ARENS. Have you made a special study of the activities of Khrushchev since World War II in the suppression of intellectuals, artists, and writers?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. In the Soviet empire?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly give the committee the information which you have assembled on this subject?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. First, I would like to add to what my predecessor has said about Khrushchev being responsible for the inhuman suppression of strikes in prison camps. I was in slave labor camps from 1935 to 1939.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly recount the facts with respect to that incident?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. As you know, during part of that time Khrushchev was the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Ukraine. We prisoners directed many petitions to Khrushchev and asked him to stop the suppressions then, but with no success.

I also knew about similar happenings later in the concentration camps in Norylsk from the letters which I had occasion to read from the Soviet Union.

Mr. ARENS. What about Khrushchev's crimes in this immediate period?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. The pertinent facts which I wish to present right now clearly indicate that under the mask of de-Stalinization Khrushchev is actually continuing Stalin's genocide, both political and cultural.

He is not only continuing, but also is actually consolidating Stalin's achievements on political as well as cultural lines.

Stalin's thesis about the racial superiority of the Russians over the non-Russians is being developed presently at full speed.



The Russian language is being forced upon Ukraine and is being branded as a second mother language. What I mean to say is that now it appears that there are two mother languages: one is the Ukrainian's native language and another one is forced Russian.

Moreover, the population of Ukraine forms actually 21 percent of the whole population of the Soviet Union. Of the journals in the Soviet Union, there are being published at present only 3 percent in the Ukrainian language.

However, when we consider the Russian population, which is about 50 percent of the Soviet Union's, we see that there are about 92 percent of journals and magazines in the Russian language and 81 percent of books being published in that language.

This naturally is another means of the Russification policy being pursued by Khrushchev. Even during Stalin's regime the figures were more in favor toward Ukraine.

The teaching of the complete history of Ukraine is not permitted.

Mr. ARENS. During the 20th party congress Mikoyan berated what he characterized, in effect, a distortion of the history of Soviet Ukraine. Has this distortion concerning which Mikoyan complained been rectified?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. No, absolutely not. It continues to be distorted.

There are being published now several textbooks of ostensible Ukrainian history in which we read the glorification of Russian history and culture. There is almost nothing which describes objectively and truthfully Ukrainian history and culture.

Also, let us recall that Khrushchev participated personally in a purge of the intellectuals of Ukraine in the 1930's. During that time, around 80 percent of the intellectuals of Ukraine were executed.

Mr. ARENS. Isn't he supposed to be rehabilitating them posthumously today?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Now, Khrushchev is trying to take this blame off himself and started a process of rehabilitation of those intellectuals.

Let me say that, in 1939, I remember that Khrushchev stated in one of his speeches that the intellectuals should be killed as flies.

Now, there is actually a process of forced rehabilitation of those persecuted and annihilated intellectuals. This is being done through the supreme court in Moscow. However, in this rehabilitation process it is not stated for what these people were persecuted, where they were actually persecuted, and where they vanished to.

At the same time, a slow purge of their native culture is being continued, as well as a purge of their works.

Thus, this so-called rehabilitation is nothing but a new trial; and this is a typical method which Khrushchev is using in his masquerade of rehabilitation.

Mr. ARENS. Speaking of culture, what is your view of current cultural exchanges?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. I would like to say this about the cultural exchanges between the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

At the exhibits in Brussels, as well as the Soviet exhibit in New York, we could see the work, the results, of the labor of Ukrainian hands and intellect largely arrogated under the cover of Russian genius and Russian achievements.

We actually did not see any substantial presentation of the hands and intellect of the non-Russian republics in the Soviet Union. This is very typical. Furthermore, when the Ukrainian national dance ensemble gained sensational success in Brussels, and the Western press, especially in France, England, and Belgium gave a lot of attention to it, the Russian Moscow press was silent and did not mention this achievement.

The leader of the American National Theatrical Academy, Mr. Robert Dowling, saw the ensemble in Kiev. He was sent by our Government to select national ensembles and invite them to visit this country. But Moscow refused to permit the Ukrainian ensemble to visit the United States.

What Moscow did, however, was to add several items from this ballet to the Russian Moiseyev ballet which was presented, as you know, in this country.

I should like also, to relate some facts about the internationally known theatrical and movie figure, Dovzhenko, who was a personal friend of Khrushchev. Dovzhenko died in 1956 in mysterious circumstances. Nevertheless, at the Brussels exhibit, he was among the 10 internationally known, leading movie producers and theatrical figures who were selected by an international jury.

Going back, in 1933 Stalin had called Dovzhenko to Moscow and told him "You will not be liquidated if you will work for Russia." For 20 years it was forbidden for Dovzhenko to come to Ukraine to work on any Ukrainian movies.

Finally, after the death of Stalin, in 1953 Dovzhenko was permitted to return to Ukraine where he left his notes. He wrote: "Who separated me for 20 years from my people, my Ukraine? It is impossible to create something, being separated from life, your people. And now I am back. I hope I will create my best moving picture. It will be the greatest picture, I hope \* \* \* and nobody will again be able to separate me from my people."

But he was separated. He was sent forcibly to Moscow and immediately thereafter died of a "heart attack."

Mr. ARENS. Did Dovzhenko create anything following his return to Ukraine?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Yes. His new scenario was prepared there. But it was taken to Moscow and was made very cheaply without even the inclusion of one single Ukrainian actor. This scenario was not permitted to be made into a Ukrainian movie.

Dovzhenko left after him a very significant heritage which was later published in the Russian language and translated from the Russian to English. But it was published as a Russian achievement, as an achievement of a Russian intellectual.

Thus, aside from the dramatic exploitation, here is a prominent case of direct robbery of Ukrainian cultural achievement.

Mr. ARENS. But earlier didn't you indicate that Dovzhenko was a personal friend of Khrushchev?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Yes. Dovzhenko on many occasions stated that he was a personal friend of Khrushchev; and vice versa. However, being as he said, his friend, Khrushchev gave him the last blow, which shows very precisely his type of character and his utter lack of integrity.

I believe that the essence of Khrushchev's personality is his ability to present himself as an actor in different masks; and he changes his mask very frequently and quickly.

This may be explained in the following way. He is trying to synthesize the methods of Czar Nicholas I, Lenin, and Stalin. For the internal strength of his empire he is sticking rather closely to the methods of Czar Nicholas I in order to hold the empire. He is using Lenin for the export of his ideas to Africa and Asia. And everything that Stalin achieved is extremely important to Khrushchev. He definitely is continuing Stalin's policy and is a true Stalinist.

What he is trying to do is to fool the peoples of the U.S.S.R.—of his basic empire, by his gesture of decentralization; also the peoples of Asia and Africa when he presents himself as a friend of their national struggle toward self-determination; and also the people of America when he tries to present himself as an important partner in political dealings as was Czar Nicholas I of Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, gentlemen.

(Whereupon at 4 p.m., Friday, September 11, 1959, the consultations were concluded.)



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